ÆOLUS:

OR, THE

CONSTITUTIONAL POLITICIAN.

WITH THE

REMARKS of a BRITON

ON THE

TRIAL of the IRISH CHAIRMEN;

A

GENTLE REPROOF to the MONTHLY REVIEWERS;

AND A

Free CONVERSATION between an ELECTOR and his REPRESENTATIVE.

In a LETTER to

SYLVANUS URBAN, Esq.

There is ſcarce Truth enough alive, to make Society ſecure.
Shakeſpear's Meaſure for Meaſure.

LONDON:
Printed for S. BLADON, in Paternoſter-Row.
MDCCLXX.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THOUGH the reaſons which induced the Writer of the following Letter, to undertake a particular examination of the caſe of the Chairmen, of their ſentence, and of their pardon, will ſufficiently appear in the examination itſelf; yet it may not be improper, in this place, to premiſe, that as the pardon has always been conſidered as a capital grievance, and reſented by the Faction as a public injury; a fair appeal to truth, now the furious paſſions, artfully excited by this pretended grievance, are ſomewhat ſubſided, may induce the yet *unbiaſſed* part of the people ſeriouſly to reflect, to what groſs deluſions too many have given up their faith in the reception of grievances.—By ſuch reflections, *they* may continue to preſerve themſelves from the like impoſition.

The

The Writer is inclined to flatter himſelf with this further hope, that many zealous, yet humane and honeſt believers in the meer *apprehenſion* of grievances,—for many ſuch there are—during the intermiſſions of their zeal, may find a candid minute to obſerve, in this example, what horrible exceſſes of injuſtice and cruelty even well-meaning men may be tranſported to approve by the unreſtrained indulgence of party prejudices, and an implicit faith in party report; and if conviction ſhould happily bring them to this temper, they will hardly fail to draw this obvious argument from the detection of the pardon-grievance—If that on which the Faction laid ſo great a ſtreſs, and ſupported with ſo much ardour, is groundleſs and fictitious; thoſe grievances on which they have hazarded leſs of their credit, are ſtill leſs to be regarded.

In ſpeaking of the other grievances as unworthy of much regard, the Letter-writer would by no means be underſtood to treat with ſuch levity the caſe of the Middleſex Election. He thinks it a ſubject of the higheſt importance to every man in the kingdom: And tho' he profeſſes to be himſelf fully ſatisfied in the ſeveral deciſions of the

the H. Houſe of Commons; tho' he thinks the *deciſions themſelves*—whatever might be the ſiniſter motives with particular members to ſupport them by their votes—aroſe out of the *genuine uncorrupted ſpirit* of the free Britiſh Conſtitution; yet as there is a very ſpecious and enticing reſemblance of truth, in the argument on the other ſide of this important queſtion; he thinks, as he ought, with great deference and reſpect of all who with candour, judgment, and moderation, have engaged themſelves in its defence.

ÆOLUS.

FOLIOS.

ÆOLUS.

Mr. URBAN,

THIS Letter is addreſſed to you by an old Cuſtomer, but a new Correſpondent. When I began to write, my deſign extended no further than to fill two or three columns of your very uſeful Magazine with my remarks on the Trial of the Iriſh Chairmen.

I had, however, proceeded but a very little way on this contracted plan, before I entirely gave it up. My remarks on the Trial of the Chairmen *alone*, I was ſoon convinced would greatly exceed all the room you could allow me; and thoſe remarks were not far advanced, before I diſcovered the caſe of the Chairmen to be inſeparably combined with the great cauſe of Patriotiſm, againſt which they had appeared in open rebellion; and the cauſe of Patriotiſm neceſſarily introduced the character, the virtues, and the grievances of its head, the great Conſtitutional Politician Mr. Wilkes, to my deliberate conſideration.

Thus it appeared, I had not only the Trial of the Chairmen upon my hands, I had alſo the Trial

of the Spirits of Patriots to go through; which was the more neceſſary, becauſe, as it was plain many of theſe good people knew not themſelves "*what manner of ſpirit they were of*," I was induced by my candour to hope, it would upon examination appear, they had much leſs miſchief in their meaning than they had produced by their conduct.

But however criminal, or however ſimple, theſe Spirits might be, as they were thus taken up and brought before me by my ſubject, I was determined to go very fully into their examination; to hear the charge, and to examine the evidence, which truth and common ſenſe advanced againſt them in *general*, and with very great aggravations againſt the arch deceiver Mr. W——s in *particular*; to report the reſult to the Public; and to ſubmit the condemnation or acquital of the accuſed to its equitable deciſion.

Yet, Mr. URBAN, long after I had relinquiſhed your Magazine as my *vehicle*, I ſtill retained *you* as my *correſpondent*; and we even proceeded very lovingly together ſo far into my Letter, that I could not think of parting with you, before I had finiſhed it. But this good fellowſhip was not my only motive to retain you. The judgment, moderation, and decency, with which your Magazine has treated the ſeveral party ſquabbles of near forty years, exactly mark that character *in you* I would chooſe to addreſs; not to engage you, or your Magazine, in one word of party diſpute, but as the true *repreſentative* of ſuch of my countrymen as I would wiſh to give *me* their attention, and my remonſtrances their calm examination.

'Tis true, no reader, without affronting him, can be introduced to the company of any correſpondent under the degree of a 'Squire: But, thought I, it may do full as well to ſtick a 'Squire-

ſhip

ſhip to Mr. URBAN's *tail*, as to clap the initial nothingneſs of A. B. or X. Z in the *front* of a 'Squireſhip. For there is, in the firſt caſe, much more of perſonality ſuggeſted; and beſides, Mr. URBAN is univerſally known, and much reſpected, in town and country; is well worthy this advance in rank; and if the novelty of his elevation to 'Squireſhip ſhould excite his ambition, as the like novelty may have excited the ambition of ſome others to ſtand for Alderman, whether it is for the ward of St. John's Gate within, (if ſuch ward there be) or of Farringdon without, I have nothing to do but heartily to wiſh him ſucceſs.

Theſe points of rank and correſpondence being ſettled very much to my ſatisfaction, as I hope they alſo are, Mr. URBAN, to yours, we will now proceed.

Though a great length of paper muſt be gone through before I enter upon the Trial of the Chairmen, I will in this place premiſe two things, in relation to them and their cauſe.

The firſt is, That my obſervations are founded *entirely* on the account of the Trial of the Iriſh Chairmen as I find it in the Seſſions-paper. I have no other authority; if I miſtake or miſrepreſent the evidence which is therein recorded; or if I make unfair or uncandid deductions from the premiſes therein ſtated; any of which errors may happen; I expect to be called back to the Seſſions-paper, but no farther. If that paper has miſrepreſented the proceedings; if great and convincing evidence of the guilt of the Chairmen was produced to the J—y, but concealed from the Public; it may have been my ill luck not to have *known* ſuch evidence; but it cannot be my fault that I do not *argue from* it. Nor yet am I accountable for not taking into conſideration any *particular revelation* of *ſpiritual* evidence, which might be conveyed to the J—y,

by *knocking* or *ſcratching*, or any other preternatural means, while they were ſhut up to determine the fate of the priſoners. I am candid enough to hope, though it doth not appear, that ſomething convincing of this kind did really happen; becauſe that kind of evidence which is barely one degree above *nothing*, is a little better to determine a v——t, than ſuch as was produced.

Another thing I have to premiſe is this. Though I am fully convinced, the Chairmen were as truly convicted of *witchcraft*, as of the *murder of Mr. Clark*; tho' no murder was or could be really proved upon them, by the evidence which is publiſhed; yet it clearly appeared, that Mac Quirk was guilty of a moſt outrageous miſdemeanor, or breach of the peace, or aſſault; and that he juſtly deſerved in its rigor ſuch puniſhment as the law appoints for ſuch offences. The evidence produced upon the Trial, proved this very ſatisfactorily, not from what was inferred, but from what was *ſeen*. If the proſecution had been confined to Mac Quirk, and had proceeded no further than the evidence would juſtify, it would have been a very laudable one, and very meritorious with reſpect to the Public. But as a proſecution for murder, and as a proſecution which ended in a ſentence of death upon two men; one of them manifeſtly very faulty, but not proved guilty of murder; the other, not convicted of any *fault* or *treſpaſs whatever*; it is juſtly held in deteſtation by every friend to humanity, and to the laws and liberties of his Country.

I have premiſed thus much, Mr. URBAN, juſt to open the caſe of the Chairmen, which we will reſt here for ſome time, until I have gone thro' an humble eſſay on the character, merit, and principles of that great Conſtitutional Politician Mr. W——, the apoſtle of Modern Patriotiſm; becauſe

cauſe it ſeems to have been upon the *peculiar* principles of juſtice and humanity, adopted by *his ſect*, that the proſecution of theſe men was commenced and ſupported, their condemnation applauded, and their pardon abhorred.

Mr. W—— is certainly a very great man. Under what figure of rhetoric ſhall we recognize his abilities? If we are to judge of the bore of the blunderbuſs by the noiſe of its diſcharge, the weight of braſs in his compoſition muſt be uncommonly great. But this illuſtration of Mr. W——s and his *report*, agreeing only in name, muſt be diſcarded as mean and trite. Let us try the "bold thunder." Now that force of eloquence which bears down all oppoſition, has often been compared to the impetuoſity of thunder, which ſtuns a man by its violence, and leaves him more than half bereaved of his ſenſes. In their powers of ſtupefaction, Mr. W——'s publications partake much of the effect of this *thundering* eloquence; yet as they impart to his readers ſomething more *tremendous* than meek, paſſive, ſtareing ſtupidity, this metaphor of thunder, with all its *cracking*, is much too tame to illuſtrate Mr. W——'s energy.

When a man has occaſion for a very ſublime and yet elegant figure; in which dignity combines with eaſe, to render the alluſion extremely brilliant; he cannot do better than to ſearch till he finds an appoſite one in the Æneid of Virgil, which is indeed the common place of well-bred deities, and courteous heroes. While I was contemplating the dignity and virtues of Mr. W——, in that noble ſquabble he has raiſed about liberty and conſtitution—and Scotch favourite—and free voters in M[illegible]x, &c. I rummaged over all the Gods, Goddeſſes, Graces, Ghoſts, and Genii in the Æneid, till at laſt I drew out the *bouncing* god

ÆOLUS,

ÆOLUS, as the illuſtrious archetype of our Conſtitutional Politician.

Let us conceive BRITANNIA juſt recovering from a virulent gonorrhea, which ſhe had acquired by continental connections; or elſe, which ſeems moſt probable, her *waſting* complaint might have proceeded from the Yaws, an American infection; but however ſhe came by her diſorder, we muſt conceive of her as labouring under a woful, ſickly, ſhattered conſtitution, in a very bad habit of body, ſpewy in her look, a conſumptive tottering in her gait, and very peeviſh and magotty in her humours. We muſt further apprehend her to be juſt caſt off by the People's Miniſter, when ſhe could keep pace with him no longer, but quitting her hold, after he had dragged her along under his arm half the world over, hollowing and whooping, ſlapdaſh, through thick and through thin; till he had made her like a Bunter, without a penny in her pocket; without the means any where to obtain her *neceſſary ſupplies*, unleſs upon tick from the ſpunging-houſe; and without a rag to *cover her nakedneſs*, except a kind of a worn out trollopée, which did it but by halves; becauſe it was made of no better ſtuff than ſmall pieces of paper, ſo looſely tacked together, and of ſo very *flimſy* a contexture, that *all for nothing* might eaſily be ſeen through it by every quick-ſighted paſſenger.

In this pitiful plight, BRITANNIA accoſts the Conſtitutional Politician, a Patriot of *fine* morals, and *exact* œconomy, preciſely as Juno in the Æneid addreſſes the God of the Bluſterers. The paſſage in the original is very ſublime; but for the benefit of the Engliſh reader, I tranſcribe it from the noble verſion of Mr. Cotton, in which not a ſingle *puff* of the original ſublimity has *flown off*. Juno, that is, by a figure, BRITANNIA, ſpeaks:—

" There

" There are a few tatterdemalions,
" That with a pox would be Italians,
" And into Latium now are going,
" With oar and ſculls tugging and rowing;
" A crew of drunken, roaring ruffians,
" Lewd, wandering, ſturdy ragamuffins,
" Raſcals I hate as I do garlick,
" And yet the rogues are ſtout and warlike."
VIRGIL TRAVESTIE, p. 6.

Who does not ſee, Mr. URBAN, in theſe tatterdemalions the vagabond Scots puſhing off from Berwick upon Tweed, to ſeize this land of liberty, ſenſe, decency, wealth, and politeneſs; a perfect Italy to thoſe Hyperborean barbarians?

The effect of Juno's application to Æolus, is finely accorded by the event of BRITANNIA's addreſs to her favourite Son of Freedom:

" Twice belch'd he loud from lungs of leather,
" To call his roaring troops together;
" And twice, as who ſhould ſay, We come,
" They roar'd i' th' concave of his womb.
" With that he turn'd his buttocks ſea-ward,
" And with a gibing kind of nay-word,
" Quoth he, 'Blind harpers, have among ye,
" 'Tis ten to one but I bedung ye.'
" At the ſame time lifting one leg,
" And pulling out his truſty peg,
" Let out at once his general muſter
" Of all that e'er could blow or bluſter,
" And like a coxcomb in his tuel,
" Left not one puff to cool his gruel.
" Have you not ſeen beneath the ſphere,
" A mortal drink, call'd bottled beer;
" How by the tapſter, when the ſtopple
" Is raviſh'd from the teeming bottle,
" It bounces, foams, and froths, and flitters,
" As if 'twere troubled with the ſquitters;
" Even ſo when Æol pluck'd the plug
" From the muzzle of his double jugg,
" The wind burſt out with ſuch a batle,
" As he had broke the ſtrings that twattle;
" Bounce, cries the port-hole, out they fly,
" And make the world dance Barnaby."
TRAVESTIE, p. 8.

While

While Æolus is thus drawing his roaring troops together, the ragamuffins are purſuing their voyage:

" Throughout the ſeas and coaſts they wander,
" One Boreas was the chief commander;
" A huſſing jack, a plundering tearer,
" A vap'ring ſcab, and a great ſwearer."

Ibid.

John E. of B. *ute* to a hair. The Boreas, the jack, the ſcab, the plunderer, all *veritable* Scot; and we have ſeen with admiration how the Britiſh Æolus has ſent him and his tatterdemalions

" Thro' ſeas and coaſts to wander."

Mythology, Mr. URBAN, mythology is a very learned ſubject. It is, to define it neatly, that myſtery which in itſelf meaning *nothing*, may, by dint of ingenuity, be made to mean *any thing*. Now to reduce theſe mythological figures into common ſenſe and plain Engliſh; by the wind which was treaſured up in the bowels of Æolus, is prefigured thoſe fumes and vapours of vanity and malice, which, proceeding from the bowels of our Britiſh ÆOLUS, become either a ſhort pithy advertiſement, or a yawning *North Briton*; a *fizzle* among his friends in the King's Bench priſon, or a *rouzer* among his foes in the K—g's B—h c—t; juſt as the blaſt of wind eſcaping from his poſteriors is of ſhort or long breath. But upon ſome *great* occaſion, when, as the poet ſays,

" He makes a general muſter
" Of all that e'er cou'd blow or bluſter;"

as for instance, *to blow away an address*, or to discomfit an *adverse cavalcade*; then

> " ———out they fly,
> " And make the *city* dance Barnaby."

Or, as it may be read with greater precision,

> " ———out they fly,
> " And make *Addressers* dance Barnaby."

I take Mr. W—— to be the greatest, the most sonorous, the loftiest ventriloquist the world has ever been stunned by. That torrent of vapour and malediction which would choke him in passing from the lungs to the tongue, how voluble! how alarming! how overbearing does it become! bursting, as did the tempest of Æolus, from his backside. Methinks, Mr. URBAN, we see our Constitutional Politician setting the best of his two faces upon the matter, in the noble attitude of the God of the Farters; first "calling his roaring troops together," and then "rumbling i'th' concave of his womb," —Liberty! Massacre! Bill of Rights! Constitution! and the rest of those Acerbities which so often give him the gripes; 'till at last, "Bounce, cries the Port-hole," and away they fly, full drive at the sculls of the Patriot-struck Multitude. How this is done, and with what effect, will be explained hereafter.

Indeed, this great Constitutional Politician is *made up* of Liberty and Love of his Country. Every thing that *drops* from him has a savour of Freedom. It was reported by the Committee of the Bill of Rights, to the Assembly of the Faithful at Mile-End, that Mr. Surbrige and Mr. Townsend, whose *office* it is to attend the *close-stool* of the Patriot, have frequently heard him distinctly fart Magna Charta! After a turtle dinner in particular, they affirm, the words are clear, sonorous, animat-

ing; and the *ſcent* very *fragrant* to the noſe of Liberty.

If the Patriot does not *ſweat* Public Virtue, he often ſweats for it. But that which is moſt conſiderable, is the curious analyſis of his Urine. The laboratory of the 'pothecary is now at work upon it; and the *volatile* ſalts of *Freedom* extracted from the urine of J— W——, Eſq; will be introduced at the next Mile-End meeting.

Methinks I ſee their Wiſdoms the Committee of Grievances and Apprehenſions, each with his bottle of Salts of Freedom at his noſe, ſnuffing up and inhaling the genuine Spirit of W——! How will it ſtimulate the Love of their Country! how revive their drooping hopes! how tickle their torpid ſenſes! and—who knows? if there *is* a ſpark of common ſenſe among them, this powerful irritation may ſtrike it out.

It is not to be expected, the preſent corrupt and infamous Ad——n ſhould grant a patent to the Mile-End Committee for the ſole vending *W——s's Salts of Freedom*; but the zeal and partiality of the Public may appropriate the ſale to that Committee, without any patent at all. Mr. W—— will undoubtedly continue to be fed with food abounding with urinous ſalt; and his potations will continue to be very diuretic.—The Reverend Mr. Horne, who holds the pot, will be very careful not to ſpill a drop; though *in ſuch a cauſe, he would think it no diſgrace to dye his caſſock with p—ſs*: ſo that much water being made, none loſt,—but all elaborated into ſalts, and ſold for the benefit of Meſſieurs of the Bill of Rights, they may in time raiſe a fund for the commencement of a proſecution againſt the Coventry Addreſſers;—for the revival of that againſt L—d * H—x,

* This great cauſe has, ſince writing the above, been decided, and its deciſion has clearly proved the truth of what Mr.

in which the Public is ſo much intereſted; and we may hope, a little may in charity be ſpared, to ſet out an hue and cry after poor Mr. F—'s poor character; which he ſeems to fear the Iriſh Chairmen ran clear off with, when they made their eſcape from Tyburn.

It has, Mr. URBAN, always appeared to men of learning and obſervation matter of much aſtoniſhment, how popular ſounds, words, benedictions and maledictions, prejudices and ſurmiſes, ſhould run ſo faſt, ſpread ſo wide, and make the curſed clatter they do, without rhyme, reaſon, truth, or meaning, to give them currency. In church and in ſtate—in city and in country—in phyſics and in metaphyſics;—in law,—in criticiſm,—and in trade;—upon any occaſion—upon all occaſions—and upon no occaſion at all; will the multitude of mankind make this abominable vociferation, this ſtunning din, without the leaſt pretence to *meaning*, any further than by breaking wind, to eliminate ſomething that gives them the gripes.

But how this ventilation ſhould be articulated into diſtinct audible words, ſuch as "W——s and Liberty"—"Glorious Conſtitution"—"Revolution Principles"—"Bill of Rights"—and various other modifications of ſound, where nothing *is*, or poſſibly *can be* meant, by the ſounds ſo ventilated; is, upon the commonly received principles of the philoſophy of verbal ſound, totally inexplicable.

Now, with ſubmiſſion to Sages, Doctors, and Philoſophers, I take upon me to affirm, they have never been able to aſſign the cauſe of this

Mr. W— ſo often declared, That the Public was greatly intereſted in its event; for 4000l. of Public money *is* 4000l. of Public money. If the ſtate of Patriotiſm militant is ſo gainful, what glorious days are preparing for Patriotiſm triumphant!

wonderful Pneumatic Phænomenon; becauſe they have conſtantly ſought for that *within* the head, which never *entered* the head, and is only to be found on the *outſide*.

In the courſe of my Univerſity ſtudies, as the true key to let me into the whole doctrine of Phyſics, I went through a complete inveſtigation of the mechanic production and propagation of Verbal Sounds. It is chiefly by the diſcoveries I made in the courſe of this inveſtigation, that I am enabled to give a very ſatisfactory ſolution of this odd Phœnomenon, of the Propagation of Popular Clamours. The learned Dr. Hartley's theory of *Sympathies* and *Vibrations*, which is perfect *darkneſs* to the reſt of the world, afforded me ſome *light*; but, Mr. URBAN, ſhall I confeſs it? I may; ſince the greateſt diſcoveries in Philoſophy have been owing to chance: It was an obſervation of the mechanic effect of the Reverend Mr. W[illia]d's labour of the lungs on the ſculls of ten thouſand auditors in Moorfields, that firſt ſet my enquiry in the right train.

My ſyſtem, in ſhort, is this: Far the greater part of mankind receive from Nature, as the capital or uppermoſt part of their fabric, a certain ſpherical extenſion of *hard*, *impenetrable*, *elaſtic*, *ſonorous matter*, perfectly *concave*; which in the language of a *barber* is called the *head*, but in the language of Philoſophers is to be conſidered as mere *ſcull*.

By the impenetrable *hardneſs* of the exterior, the perfect *vacuity* within, and the extenſion over all of a fine membraneous, vellum-like ſubſtance, theſe ſculls are admirably well adapted to be *played upon* to ſome *tune*—by the Gentlemen of the Black Gown—the Gentlemen of the Scarlet Gown—the Gentlemen of the Fur Gown—the Gentlemen of the Bill of Rights—or any other gentle or ſimple,

—who

—who have a point to carry, by beating a tattoo to theſe ambulatory ecchoes.

And as it happens to all other inſtruments, tuned in perfect uniſon, ſo it does to theſe Tabors of ÆOLUS.—For example; let the ſound given out be,—"Bill of Rights."—No ſooner is the vibrating motion of the air articulated to that ſound, but you will hear "Bill of Rights" reverberated from all the ſculls which are within the vortex of the firſt vibration.

It is by the ſame kind of ſympathy that the impreſſion of *words* and *ſentences* remaining upon the *ſuperficies* of the *ſcull*, after the firſt rebound is *expended*, are repeatedly *flying off*, in ſound, upon receiving that excitation which is *peculiarly adapted* to ſet ſuch *appropriated ſounds* a-going.

And this I take to be the true Phyſico-Mechanico-Orthodoxic account of reſponſes to Creeds, Symbols, Catechiſms, and Articles of Faith; becauſe, without ſuppoſing any of theſe matters to have penetrated the ſeveral ſculls in the aſſembly; for that would be *abſurd*; we ſhall find the tattoo is kept up; ſound *given*, is in ſound *returned*; which is the true meaning of that well known honourable teſtimonial, *ſound in the Faith*; and vocal harmony is ſo perfectly preſerved among the Faithful, that we may ſay of it, as Falſtaff ſaid to the Merry Wife of Windſor, "Go to; can you deſire better ſympathy?"

Take, Mr. URBAN, another example of the ſame phœnomenon from an experiment in Politics. Let us ſuppoſe, either twenty-five or twenty-five hundred Supporters of the Bill of Rights, on their return from a public meeting at Mile-End, overtaking a flock of *forty five* Geeſe. No ſooner will it be obſerved that there is not a Gooſe more or leſs than *forty-five*, but off will go (let the number of ſculls be ever ſo great) from every ſcull—

"Wilkes

"Wilkes and Liberty! Conſtitution! Maſſacre! Magna Charta!" and the reſt of thoſe Crackers with which the ſuperficies of their ſeveral ſculls had juſt before been repleniſhed.

I know thoſe who ſuppoſe the mode of vociferation to be derived from ſome internal, metaphyſical ſource, will advance a *Sympathy*, or *Congruity* of *nature* and *faculties*, between the *Geeſe* and the ſaid *Supporters*, as the occaſional cauſe of the univerſal ejaculation abovementioned; while, on the other hand, ſuch as ſearch for the firſt ſpring of this tattoo in the memory, will ſuggeſt the *cackling* of the Geeſe as the occaſional cauſe, by reviving the *traces* of Mr. T——'s *Speech*, which the Supporters were juſt come from hearing.—No ſuch matter, Mr. URBAN; no ſuch matter; whatever *probability* ſuch conjectures may have in them, it is not the *Geeſe*, nor the cackling of the Geeſe, nor any *ſympathetic conſtitution eſtabliſhed by Nature* between *Geeſe* and *Supporters*, that raiſes the tattoo in queſtion: No; 'tis not the *Geeſe*; but the *preciſe Number of the Geeſe*; *the Conſtitutional* Number *Forty-five*; that Number of the *Beaſt* which is ſtampt on the forehead of every *Sheep* in the flock of Wilkes; which *exciting* thoſe vibrations on the ſcull we have before noted, lets fly the Crackers, juſt as we obſerve the myſtic ſigns of Maſonry ſet all the adepts in that Philoſophy into correſpondent movements.

Indeed, Mr. URBAN, the principles and the practice of the Æolic Philoſophy are always moſt happily illuſtrated by examples drawn from Politics.—Thoſe who believe, as we would claſſically hope every learned man *does* believe, that every kind of knowledge, Phyſical, Metaphyſical, Mechanical, Political, &c. &c. is contained in the revelation of the antient Poets; but withdrawn from vulgar obſervation, behind the duſty cloud

of

of Mythology; have abundant reaſon to congratulate themſelves and one another, when they are let into the ſecret, by getting on the bright ſide of the ſaid duſky cloud.

As you, Mr. URBAN, by my aſſiſtance, are now on the *enlightened* ſide of Mythology, you will clearly diſcern Virgil inſtructing us, in the fine fable of Æolus, that thoſe ſtorms of Slander, and hurricanes of Apprehenſions — thoſe Gripes and Colics which affect ſo direfully the Conſtitution of the Body Politic, proceed neither from the *head* or the *heart*,—never come near the *lungs*, or iſſue out of the *mouth*,—but are generated intirely in the *ſpleen*; which diſcharging a vaſt redundance of Bile on the Hypochondria, that region becomes irritated and greatly inflated; whence the great internal rumbling of thoſe noxious vapours, which at length force their paſſage at the emnuctory which the ſublime Mr. Cotton, preſerving the *purity*, the *elegance*, the *dignity*, and the *preciſion*, of the original, moſt happily denominates the Port-hole.

Now this plain Theory refutes the abſurdity, while it detects the malice, of Miniſterial Tools and Hirelings, who are forever exclaiming, "Did ever mortal *talk* ſuch nonſenſe as this W---? ſuch wild, incredible abſurdities of Impeachments, Maſſacre, and Oppreſſion, and an *&c.* of Grievances long enough to join St. George's-Fields to Weſtminſter-Hall;—none of which ever *entered* any body's *head* but his *own!*" Nor *his neither*, ye blind Puppies!—God only knows what is in the man's *head*, becauſe nothing yet has ever come *out of it*. Thoſe *ebullitions*, thoſe *flatulencies*, which you would ſo fain interpret into miſchievous *meaning*, proceed not from his *head*, but his *belly*. They are not the *Chimeras* of his *brain*,—not the *rubbiſh* of his *memory*, but "*the meer effuſion of his proper loins*;" and therefore, the ſearch after ideas,

or

or ſenſe, or truth, or conſiſtency, in the meer *breaking away of wind*, verbally accented, can only ſucceed, as it ought, in finding a Port.

But the moſt curious experiment in this Philoſophy, is that which is made in the *communication* or *propagation* of *verbal ſound*, from the Aperture of *exploſion* to the *reverberating* body.—As this diſcovery is very *curious*, quite *ſyſtematical*, entirely *new*, and extenſively *important*,—I muſt deſire, Mr. URBAN, your full attention, while I explain it by a familiar example.

Beſides thoſe Port-hole expirations of wind common to all men, which, as we have obſerved, gently murmur out "Magna Charta," as they eſcape from the Conſtitutional Politician; the diſtempered ſtate of that great Man's Spleen is conſtantly throwing off moſt abundant blaſts of vapour; which accumulating in the Hypochondria, till it can contain no more, at length burſt out from the Port-hole in that hurricane of malevolent *ill breath*, which would *ſtun* and *ſtupify* all within the line of its *direction*, if it did not receive ſuch a check as is ſufficient to divide and expand its force, by the interpoſition of a very hard and immoveable ſubſtance, placed very near the point of exploſion.—We are now to obſerve, how this is effected; and at the ſame time, how this Whirlwind becomes articulated to political nonſenſe, and diffuſed to popular faſcination.

Sancho was not ſo neceſſary to Don Quixote, nor Ralpho to Don Hudibras, as is Parſon Horne to the Patriot. For whereas the laſt named 'Squire Errant went at moſt but "*half* in the Adventure," the *'Squire Apoſtolic* goes at leaſt *three quarters* in pains and perils with the Britiſh Ventriloquiſt.

The Reverend Gentleman is, indeed, moſt emphatically ſpeaking, the *head* of the cauſe.—Never was *head*,—or, to ſpeak more accurately, never was *head-piece* more nobly, more importantly employed,

in

in *diffuſing* and *infuſing* the ſpirit of Liberty. Nature, who ſeems to have deſign'd him to this *peculiar Poſt*, provided him with an *head* every way equal to the office;—a *ſcull* for *thickneſs* not to be exceeded!—for the "ſounding braſs" of its contexture,—for the "tinkling Cymbal" it forms,—not to be equalled. But the perfect *vacancy within!*—that *ample empty concave*—in which *Reaſon* never meditated, *Gratitude* never recorded, *Humanity* never commiſerated, *Decency* never reſtrained, nor *Duty* ever directed,—is the *crowning* requiſite for the *Poſt* he occupies *under* the Patriot.

Thus qualified, we find in this "Drum Eccleſiaſtic" the true *Drum-Major* of his Faction; for what the ſounding-board is to his Reverence in preaching, that his Reverence *himſelf* is to his Party;—the great *Diſperſer* of *Senſeleſs Sound* among the People.—How this diſperſion is effected, we ſhall learn by the following example.

It will not be difficult to apprehend Mr. W—, on his return from his late attendance at the Judge's chambers to his Chateau in St. George's-Fields,—received and welcomed by the few ſurvivors of that *bloody ſcene*, of which the Patriot himſelf aſſures us he was a *ſpectator* on the horrid 10th of May, 1768.

As it cannot be imagined *many* ſurvived the *Matchleſs Maſſacre* of that day, we will ſuppoſe all the *dead men* who *roſe* up and *walked away* from the other Maſſacre at Brentford, to have joined them; and to theſe we may add as many more of his roaring ragged retinue, as will make the whole number at leaſt ten thouſand.

After the huzzas and acclamations from *without* had done playing, the apparatus for making the return from *within* began to be placed. This indeed was very *ſimple*. A ſtool was firſt ſet cloſe to that window, at which the Patriot received the ho-

mage of his cullies: the window being opened, and the ſtool adjuſted to the proper height, the Reverend Mr. ——- kneeling upon it, to ſhew his reſpect to ſo brave and ſo free a People; and reſting his chin on the bottom of the window, uncovered his head, to receive in its full force the Æolic exploſion, on that Scull, which, as we have ſeen, was ſo well formed to ſuſtain it.—There is a great reſemblance between the well known Electrical experiment and this Pneumatic operation. This, I hope, the Reader will keep in mind; becauſe it will help him to conceive the capacious *ſcull* of the Reverend Conductor, *fully charged* with all the *ſenſeleſs jargon of his faction*, firmly and ſteadily *plac'd* to receive the Pneumatic *ſhock*; his countenance *ſerene*, and *unembarraſſed*; his eyes *cloſed* in the *ejaculatory* ſtile; and his mouth well ſecured againſt the admiſſion of any *extraneous matter*.

This laſt precaution was very neceſſary; becauſe it was well remembered, that the Patriot, on the day of the horrid maſſacre, in an extraordinary diſplay of his powers of ventilation over the *head* of the Reverend Conductor, had ſuffered certain ſubſtantial Forms; not Metaphyſical but groſsly Material, *unſeemly* to Sight, and *unſavory* to Smell, to iſſue out in great abundance (from the too lax ſtate of his Bowels) upon the head, and down the viſage, of the Reverend Coadjutor, who, to obviate the unpalateable effects of ſuch another diſaſter, ſat as we have deſcribed:

" His mouth he durſt not ope
" Certes for fear of finding there,
" A T—d inſtead of Trope."

SWIFT.

While the Parſon was compoſing his poſture and his features to *receive* the ſhock, the Patriot was preparing his Poſteriors to *give* it. A ſubſtantial

ſtantial Oaken Table, drawn very near to the ſtool, on which we left the Reverend Conductor kneeling, ſerved as a ſtage for this illuſtrious exhibition.

The firſt *ſpectacle* that appeared on this ſtage was Sir ———, who ſupporting his *back* in an horizontal poſition by his *hands and knees*, made a fair and firm *reſt* for the *thighs* of the Patriot, during the exploſion. Every thing being now in order, the Patriot himſelf mounted; and after he had, like a well-bred man as he is, ſaluted the Committee of the Bill of Rights, who *attended the ſolemnity*; he, as Virgil ſays of Æolus,

" Began t'untruſs to eaſe his Carcaſe,"

In the mean time, Meſſrs. S—— and T—— placed themſelves on each ſide of the Patriot, to *facilitate* the exploſion, by *gentle frictions* along the greatly diſtended ſurface of his Abdomen.—The aperture of Ventilation being uncovered, and ſomewhat elevated, became firmly fixed, at the diſtance of one foot, two inches, and three quarters of an inch, in a right line from the *center* of *concavity* on the *Scull* of the *Conductor*.

Thus was every preparative adjuſted with the utmoſt preciſion, when the Britiſh ÆOL,

———" plucking the plug
" From the muzzle of his double jugg,
" The winds burſt out with ſuch a rattle,
" As he had broke the ſtrings that twattle."

COTTON.

Did you never, Mr. URBAN, obſerve, when the roaring wind of a Blackſmith's Bellows was concenter'd to a point at the Forge, how at every ſtroke the ſparks of red-hot matter have flown off, in every poſſible direction? Or did you never ſee the Electric Fire iſſue from the Conductor, and run through the whole round of the Electrified?

Or did you never behold the ſpray and ſputter of dirty water, beſpattering all within the vortex of a Knife-grinder's Grindſtone, in its moſt rapid whirl? Even ſo in manner, but in effect vaſtly greater and more extenſive, did the volatile crackers of popular Nonſenſe *ruſh* from the ſcull of H—— the Conductor, upon receiving the aforeſaid irreſiſtible agitation from the *dubble jug blaſt* of W—— the Patriot.

It was wonderful to obſerve, how at every Æolic ſhock the vibrating ſounds of "Conſtitution!"—and "Liberty!"—and "Bill of Rights!"—and "Committee of Apprehenſions!"—and the reſt of that ſenſeleſs noiſe which made the tattoo of the day, bounded and rebounded—ecchoed and re-ecchoed—ſcreamed and reverberated from the Conducting Drum-Major to and from the Ten Thouſand empty Sculls, which formed ſo perfectly what the learned call, the *Tautologic Ecchо.*

Forty-five times was the mighty blaſt diſcharged from the bowels of the Patriot,—and forty-five times was the Æolic ſhock received, broken and diſperſed, by the immoveable, impenetrable Scull of the Conductor. Friſtions forty-five did the pliant palms of S——— and T——— gently glide down the belly of the Britiſh Æol. Forty-five times were the lack-luſtre eyes of S--r J.—— turned aſkant, in devout contemplation of that world of Politics, which, like another Atlas, he ſupported on his back; and forty-five times were the fee-leſs fiſts of Goody *Coif* uplifted in ſilent applauſe; till at the end, Rapture broke out in this ejaculation: "I profeſs, ſaid the good old Lady—I profeſs, as I hope to be a J—e, theſe glorious Exploſions are the Moſt Conſtitutional,—Moſt Patriotical,—Moſt Legalical,—Moſt Magnachartacal—Moſt Bill of-Rightical-Reports—that ever were puffed from the Bum-fiddle of Freedom!"

This

This Pneumatic operation continued a conſiderable time, 'till at length, the Patriot's *Belly* being quite evacuated of vapour; the Conductor's *ſcull* quite benumbed with rebounding; and the Ten Thouſand *Sculls* quite replete with jargon—the Aſſembly broke up; when the Ten Thouſand departed to get drunk with Gin and Ale over "Wilkes and Liberty;"—the Patriot, and the Committee of Supporters, to ſublime Fools into Madmen over Port and Claret;—and the Reverend Conductor retired to thank God for the ſucceſs of his *pious*, *decent*, *labours* in the *cauſe* of *Liberty* and *Virtue*.

That which pleaſes me moſt, Mr. URBAN, in this my Æolic theory of Verbal Sounds, is the perfect *innocence of meaning* or *intention*, with which ſo many of my Countrymen are made to rebound from their Sculls—rank Nonſenſe—many Lyes—and much evil report—foreign and domeſtic—civil and religious;—and all the while, as I hinted before, their *minds* may remain perfectly free from the leaſt imputation of error or crime.

Thus the Sculls of the People may be made to play off—Imprecations againſt Miniſters,—Treaſon or Sedition againſt the K——, Blaſphemy againſt God,—ſelected from the choice pages of the Eſſay—an Amen to the Commination Curſes of all their Neighbours,—or an hearty Damnation to all who doubt the Creed of St. Athanaſius.—They may rebound, a ſincere abhorrence of the damnable doctrine of taking arms by the King's authority againſt his Perſon; together with a moſt explicit aſſent to his Majeſty's Supremacy in all cauſes as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil;—and yet all the while, God bleſs their honeſt hearts!—never entertain one *Thought* of diſreſpect to the K—, or Burleſque upon Religion;—of Curſes in Commination,—or of Execrations againſt Miniſters;—nothing may be

be further from their *Intention*, than ſending all the Arians to the Devil:—That about taking arms, they wit not of—; and as to the deciſion reſpecting the pretenſions of his Majeſty, and the Pope, to be ſupreme head of the church,—their *heads conceive* juſt as much about it as did the head of Sir Thomas More, when it had been a good month off his ſhoulders:—yet theſe ſeveral *tattoos* being firſt ventilated from the Conductor by *Law*—or by *Cuſtom*—or by *Prejudice* eſtabliſhed—the *return* is diſtinctly made, in *good ſet phraſe of words*, from the *ſuperficies of the Scull*, without Thought—Deſign—Intention—or Meaning—of any kind, good, bad, or indifferent, proceeding from the mind.

But to return to Mr. W——. As that Gentleman has ſomething upon his Shoulders which bears ſome reſemblance to a *Head*; as he affects to cover this *excreſcence* with an *hat*; and even, to carry on the farce, often puts a *Cockade in that hat*; many have been induced to believe, there might poſſibly be a *ſmall portion* of Brains within, which might enable him, *in a low degree*, to think and ſpeak like other folks.

There cannot be a greater miſtake; and a very uncandid miſtake it is to poor Mr. W——. What can any one expect in *ſenſe* and *morals*, better than he has *produced*, from an *animal*, whoſe ſoul never roſe higher than his belly?

I have, Mr. URBAN, ſtudied the ſcience of Ontology, and read a great deal more about the Soul and Body, than I can, for the ſoul of me, underſtand.—But, upon the whole, I have met with no ſyſtem *nearer* being intelligible than that of Matthew Prior, who ſuppoſes *Alma*, or the Mind, to enter at the feet; from which entrance ſhe ſlowly proceeds through ſeveral ſtages, till at laſt ſhe takes up her reſt in that ſtation, or in that member, to which ſhe is impelled; and in which ſhe

is reſtrained, by the predominant humour of the material Conſtitution; in order to become ſubſervient to the uſes and purpoſes of the ſaid predominant humour.

In ſome few inſtances, when time has relaxed or weakened the fetters which obſtructed her riſing, *Alma*, in old age, "ſettles in the Head:" but Mr. W—— has one of thoſe *poor ſouls* that never will riſe higher than the *midriffe*.—All its ſtruggles to *reach* the heart, or to *ſtir about a little* in the *Brain*, will be to no purpoſe; ſuch fruitleſs efforts only ſerving to move and exaſperate thoſe humours which neceſſarily tending *downwards*, at laſt make their exit through the Port-hole with the deteſtable noiſe we have ſo often had occaſion to execrate.

I am not the firſt in determining the ſeat of Mr. W——'s ſoul to be in the regions of the Abdomen. The duel of the Patriot with Mr. M—— is well known. That the laſt named Gentleman employed himſelf a conſiderable time before the duel in *ſhooting at a mark* to bring his hand in, is juſt as true, and as well proved, as the other Grievances and Oppreſſions of Mr. W——. But however Mr. M—— came by his art, the *point* he *aimed* at, is manifeſt enough by the *place* he *hit*. For though the Patriot is much too valorous ever to ſuffer his *heart* to drop into his *breeches*, yet as his *whole ſoul* was well known to be confined *there*, or *thereabouts*, Mr. M—— certainly meant to *let it out*, when his piſtol made an opening ſo very near the place of its reſidence.

Beſides the *talents* and *genius* of the Patriot, *ſuch as they are*, manifeſtly indicate, the *fountain* from which they are ſupplied.--A ſad clumſy heavy hand at a North Briton, or a *bit* of Hiſtory, he is well known to have; but how alert, how lively, when he prints *blaſphemy*, or burleſques Scripture into *bawdy*?

bawdy? Thus, in the celebrated *Eſſay on Woman*, his *genuine undiſguiſed genius* ſhines forth; all is Nature—all is vivacity—all is fire and ſpirit; that is, the man's *whole ſoul* was in the work: this gave it a ſpirit and energy unattainable by any other wit, even among thoſe who had acquired the higheſt degree of eminence as bawdy-houſe pimps, or bagnio porters.—But now, Mr. URBAN, let me aſk you,—Don't we all know, that in the moſt ſucceſsful Eſſay which any man can make *upon* woman, it is not neceſſary that the ſoul, the actuating ſpirit, ſhould riſe much above the waiſt-band?

After explaining ſo clearly—what came out—from *whence* it came out—*where* it came out—and *how* it came out—we ſhould now beſtow a few lines of enquiry, *how it came in*;—that is, how it ever came into Mr. W——'s belly to turn Patriot, and fart Politics.

This is anſwered in two words, Natural Conſtitution. I do not barely ſay Mr. W—— was *born* a Politician and a Patriot: he was ſo in the firſt conception; in "the dim ſpeck of entity." After he was born, and in the nurſe's lap, never did ſturdy babe ſo nobly reſiſt the impoſition and bondage of ſwaddling-cloaths: for he kicked — and ſprawl'd—and thump'd--and ſquawl'd—and ſet the whole houſe into an uproar, juſt as he does now. So that it appears the love of Liberty in him is truly Conſtitutional; and he is, above all men living, *The Conſtitutional Politician.*

It is now incumbent on us to detect the *ſtrain* and *tenor*—the *principles* and *effects*—of the *peculiar ſyſtem* he adopted, after he had determined to devote the *cogitations* of his *guts* to the public amuſement on the ſtage of Politics.

Thoſe, Mr. URBAN, who diſtinguiſh between *ſcribbling* and *writing*, appeal to Mr. W—— -'s

North

North Briton as a determining proof that he never learnt to *write*.—In this opinion I think all men are agreed: but the aſperſers of that Gentleman's character, ſome of them at leaſt, affect to doubt, whether ever he learnt to *read*. This, I think, is manifeſt barefaced calumny: for how could Mr. W—— burleſque Scripture, and the Common-Prayer, ſo pertinently as he has done, if he had never *read* them? How could he deſcant on the King's ſpeech, and ſo ſmartly give his M—— the Lye, if he had not been able to read it?

But much more than this, does he not talk about Magna Charta—and Marcus Brutus—and Cato the Cenſor—and Buckingham the Favorite—and Mark Anthony—and Jemmy Twitcher—and Roman Senates—and Committee of Apprehenſions—and Julius Cæſar—and Tully Cicero—and Oliver Cromwell—and Mr. Hampden—and various other matters? and really, ſometimes not *altogether* without meaning; inſomuch that it evidently appears, he has *read* the ſtory books; aye; and that he has retained ſome *confuſed remembrance* of them too.

But this is not all his erudition. For, Mr. URBAN. it even appears, that he is well acquainted with the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, and with the improved manners of the Spartans, ariſing out of thoſe inſtitutions; by which their virtue and their freedom became ſo illuſtrious through all the following ages.

I do not know that our Patriot has ever avowed, *intentionally*, an imitation of that celebrated Legiſlator; but he has either *introduced*—or *confirmed*—or *encouraged*, ſo many of the Spartan peculiar inſtitutions, in law, or in manners;—and thoſe inſtitutions are ſo well received and practiſed in his new-erected Kingdom of Middleſex, that we cannot but obſerve, Sparta and its Founder, on

occaſions, happily copied in M———x and its Law-giver.

In the noble diſregard of *money*, and in diveſting himſelf of *every ſhilling*, Mr. W—— has exactly imitated Lycurgus. It was the opinion of that ſage Politician, that nothing could ſo much conduce to eſtabliſh and preſerve the Virtue and the Liberty of the Spartans, as ſending away all their money, and leaving them nothing but Iron, Paper,—or ſuch like traſh, to ſerve the uſes of their current ſpecie.—As no-body, it ſeems, judged better what was *good* for the Public, than this ſame Lycurgus; upon the authority of his example, we may admire the wiſdom of our *military* Adminiſtrations; who, obſerving the great obſtruction which *wealth* was to virtue, and *commerce* to glory, contrived effectual means, Spartan-like, by degrees to extirpate *both*.

In eſtabliſhing an equality, not barely of condition but of character and ſentiment, and in having all things in common, except Common Senſe; which was alike baniſhed from *both* Governments; the ſtate of M———x exactly agrees with that of Sparta. Among the ſubjects of his M———x Majeſty, ſo perfect a parity prevails in parts, knowledge, decency, and virtue, that the Supporters of the B—— of R—— might become a *mob* in St. George's-fields, or the *mob* in St. George's-fields might become *Supporters of the B— of R — at Mile-End*, without the leaſt diſguſt, diſgrace, or diſparagement on either ſide.

'Tis prodigious, the progreſs which the people of M—— have already made, in breaking through every reſtraint of Chaſtity and Decorum. Juſt like antient Sparta, there are in M——— *certain ſtreets* occaſionally inhabited by youths of both ſexes, who make no ſcruple of *dancing* together quite naked. This is carrying the principles of *natural liberty*

liberty very far; but it ſeems the practice was found to be very conducive to Spartan *Virtue*; and, as that was the caſe, who knows what effect it may produce on M———x *Morals?*!

Ever ſince Chriſtianity has been laughed out of countenance by the ſucceſs of Mr. W——'s ingenious *Eſſay*, we have continued to imbibe much of the manly ſpirit and heroic freedom of the glorious Grecian Republic before-mentioned.

By the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, the community of all moveables extended in Sparta to a community of wives.—Plutarch writes:—"He (Lycurgus) laughed at all thoſe who thought the violation of their Bed ſuch an inſupportable affront, that they revenged it by murders often, and ſometimes by wars. Lycurgus thought a man not to be blamed who being in *years*, and having a *young* wife, ſhould recommend ſome *virtuous handſome young man*, that ſhe might have a *child* by him, who might *inherit* the *good qualities* of ſuch a *father*; and this child the good man loves as tenderly as if it was of his own getting. On the other hand, a *worthy* man who was in love with a *married* woman, *upon account of her modeſty*, and the well-favouredneſs of her children, might, without formality, beg of her huſband a *night's lodging*, that he might, like ſlips of a fine tree planted in a goodly Garden, have Children of a *good race* and *well related*. For Lycurgus was of a perſuaſion, that the *Children* were not ſo much the *propriety* of their *parents* as of the *whole Common-wealth*; and therefore, he would not have them begot by the firſt-comers, but by the *beſt men* that could be found."

PLUTARCH's *Lives in Lycurgus*, *Tonſon's* Edit.

Nothing can be more free and eaſy than this cuſtom, which when it once became *reputable*, entirely extinguiſhed, as Lycurgus intended it ſhould, the reſentments of Jealouſy, and the obloquy of

Cuckoldom. Upon its happy and natural introduction into the realms of M——x, the patriotic virtue of the British Fair; such, I mean, as are, by their rank and breeding, set free from the restriction of vulgar prejudices; became very illustrious, by their so readily adopting and practising this precious revival of Grecian Virtue. And though the *introduction* of this Spartan philanthropy cannot be ascribed to our Patriot; yet, as he so *justly classes* with "those *handsome virtuous young men*, whose *good* qualities every husband would be glad to *ingraft* into his *own* stock, it cannot be doubted, but that so true a Lover of his Country has exerted very vigorously, his talent of Procreation for the public good, by increasing from his *own loins* the number of "Children of a *good race* and *well related*."

I am thinking, Mr. URBAN, if Mr. W—— had entered upon this public-spirited practice of Patriotic Cuckoldom some few years sooner, what a choice *Committee of Apprehensions* he might have had all of his own *begetting*.

In conforming to that most celebrated of all the institutions of Lycurgus, by which the Spartan children were considered, not as under the *charge* and *care* of the *particular* family from which they proceeded, but as being the *children* of the *Public*; I think I may affirm, no nation, at any period of time, has equalled the exactness of our own at this day.

It must give a most pleasing prospect to this *wise*, *warlike*, and *virtuous* Kingdom, to observe with how strenuous an emulation all persons of rank and condition, who always ought to be the first in general reformation, are adopting the Spartan practice of devoting their Children to the *sole charge* of the Public. By this practice the partial parental affection, so mean and so vulgar, is eradicated

eradicated in favour of *Public* and *Patriotic* affection; and the Youth of Britain are from their infancy taught to know no *Parent but their Country*. For while the *Husband* in genteel life, Spartan-like, cares not who *begets*; nor the *Wife*, Spartan-like, who *brings up*; nor either *Husband* or *Wife* who *provides* for the rising family; it becomes so truly the *national charge*, that I never pass—the War Offices in the Land and Sea departments—the Revenue Offices—the Courts of Law—or the Seminaries of Learning—but I consider *each* of them as *inscribed*—"For the Maintenance of EXPOSED and DESERTED Male Children of People of Fashion at the Public Expence."

In many, indeed in most of the above-mentioned improvements, Mr. W—— has contributed little more than the countenance of his personal virtue; but in the following regulations, he rises again into the sole legislator of M——x, while he adopts the virtuous maxims of Lycurgus.

Plutarch, speaking of the election of Spartan Senators, says, "We need not wonder there was such stickling and striving for it. For what more glorious competition could there be among men than this? in which it was not disputed who should *bear away* the prize of *swiftness* or *strength*, but who was the *wisest* and *most virtuous* man?"—

PLUTARCH *in Lycurgus.*

I cannot but observe by the way, Mr. URBAN, that as it was in the Senate of Sparta, this, in like manner, is always the point in debate in our H——se of C——ns, where *all* the M——rs have so *nearly equal* a portion both of *Wisdom* and *Virtue*, that in examining who has *precisely* the most; an orator, nay even a *Serjeant*, may speak *one hour and fifty-seven minutes* in support of his own, and yet leave the question as much undecided as it was before he opened his mouth.

Plutarch

Plutarch goes on—" The manner of their Election was as follows. The people being called together, ſome perſons were *locked up in a room*," (ſuch perhaps as our K[illegible] B[illegible] priſon) " near the place of Election; which was ſo contrived, that they could neither *ſee* nor *be ſeen* by the Competitors or the People, but only hear the *noiſe* of the aſſembly without. For they decided this, as moſt other affairs of moment, by the *Shouts of the People*."

PLUTARCH *in Lycurgus*.

Spirit of Lycurgus! how art thou revived in the *Belly* of W——! Nonſenſe of Sparta! how art thou rebellowed by the *Brayers* of M———x!

For in this original we are to obſerve, Mr. URBAN, not only the *complete form* of a M———x election, decided by *Noiſe* and *Shouts*, but alſo the propriety, upon ſo renowned an authority, with which the K[illegible] of M[illegible]x has made *Shouts* and *Noiſe*, conjoined with Number *Forty-five*, the great medium of his new eſtabliſhed Government. —It alſo proves the peculiar Wiſdom of his Adminiſtration, in appointing a Committee of Apprehenſions, than which as nothing ever was more *conſtitutional*, ſo no inſtitution could be better calculated to ſupply matter for *noiſe* and *ſhouts* to one part of the People,—*fun* and *laughter* to the reſt—and thus, by one or other of theſe agitations, to give vent to much pent-up Wind on all ſides.

It has coſt me the utmoſt exertion of my learning to ſearch for the *origin*, and to conceive clearly the *uſes* and *condition* of thoſe miſerable ſervants of Sparta, ſo well known by the names of Ilotes, Helotes, or Helots. I conſidered attentively all that Plutarch has left us on this ſubject; I reviewed all the remarkers on the Laws of Lycurgus, both panegyriſts and cenſurers, from Ariſtotle and Plato, down to Rollin and Monteſquieu; and though in the courſe of this examination, I acquired ſome conceptions

conceptions of the *uſes* and *condition* of that miſerable race of mortals, yet as to their *origin*, who they were, or from whence they came, I could not meet with any thing ſatisfactory.

As the *light* afforded by Hiſtory, and the Commentators on Hiſtory, in tracing the origin of the Helots, proved but *darkneſs*, I ſet myſelf with the ideas I had hiſtorically acquired of Spartan *manners* and Helot *miſery*, to compare *theſe* with ſuch inſtances in *modern* times of *licentious inſolence* in the great, and of *debaſement* and *oppreſſion* ſuffered under their ſubjection, as had, by reading or obſervation, come within my notice; in hopes to find, by ſome general conformity of modern cuſtoms and manners to thoſe of Sparta and her Helots, that ſatisfaction which Hiſtory failed to give me.

And, Mr. URBAN, this method of traditionary inveſtigation hath ſucceeded to my wiſh. For, after making juſt allowance for the *moderated ſeverity* of *modern* times, by which the *deadly* inhumanity of Spartan Helotiſm is in *general* rejected; we ſhall, notwithſtanding, find ſo prevailing a reſemblance in many particulars between the antient and modern condition, that I am fully perſuaded, the Helots in queſtion were no other than *Iriſh Chairmen*; whoſe ſervile employment it was to carry the Beau Monde of Sparta to the Opera, in the winter;—and in the ſummer, to work in the hay and corn harveſts, *throughout* the territories of Lacedemon.—As the Spartans deſpiſed all the world but themſelves; ſo the Helots ſeem to have been formed on purpoſe to bear their inſults with ſubmiſſion.

It was the cuſtom of the native youth of Sparta, "once a day, to give the Helots a certain number of ſtripes, merely that they might not *forget* they were *ſlaves*." (*Hiſtory of Lacedem.*) And a moſt wiſe

wiſe and *commendable* exerciſe undoubtedly it was, and mighty well *adapted* to anſwer its intention.

In like manner it is uſual with thoſe *wiſe*, *valient*, and *virtuous* youths the Bloods and Bucks of M——x to inflict, every night, "a certain number of ſtripes" on all that *ſtand*, or *fall*, in their way, be they Chairs or Chairmen;—for no earthly reaſon but to prove, that the ſaid Bloods and Bucks, being *free* ſubjects, and the *peculiar favorites* of his M———x Majeſty, are inveſted with an unlimited right to exerciſe all the powers of drubbing.

But the moſt violent exertion of Spartan ſuperiority over the wretched Helots, was in the *Cryptia*, or Ambuſcade: a Law, or a Cuſtom, or both, under whoſe authority—"ſuch as had the care of *educating* the Spartan youth, picked out the ſtouteſt of them; and having armed them with *daggers*, ſent them to deſtroy their unhappy ſlaves; which they did either by ſurprizing them in the night, or falling upon them in the day, when they were at work, without *any crime* being pretended againſt them, &c."——*Univerſal Hiſt.* Vol. vii. p. 22.

This kind of Helot *Hunting*, (*ſporting* with Guns was not in uſe at that time) muſt have afforded *excellent* diverſion, and have been *juſtly* deemed a moſt *manly*, *rational*, and *valiant* atchievement in the youths of Sparta, whoſe virtue is ſo highly celebrated in all antiquity.—And as the *wiſdom* of that polite people kept an equal pace with their *virtue*, it can hardly be doubted, tho' Hiſtory has failed to record it, that they had *Game Laws*, which ſecured the noble privilege of Helot-hunting to ſuch as had an hundred pounds a year in poſſeſſion, and to the *eldeſt* ſons of Lords and Baronets—to *blood-thirſty* Prieſts,—and to *ſimple* Eſquires, in the country of Lacedemon.

I think

I think this ſuppoſition highly *probable*; becauſe in modern times, though Helot-hunting is not *quite* the taſte, yet we have many *excellent Laws*, *gravely* made and printed in the *black letter*, on purpoſe to appropriate to the *reſpectable* claſſes abovementioned, the glorious privilege of *Field-Butchery*.

I have ſaid, Sir, that the ſoftneſs of modern manners was incompatible with the moſt *ſanguinary habits* in Spartan cuſtoms; which in general is true. Yet under the auſpices of K^ing Wilkes, we find among his *peculiar votaries*, the genuine ſpirit of Spartan ferocity, unalloyed by humanity or reaſon. Thus in that *tranſport* of *applauſe* ſo loudly and ſo univerſally expreſſed at the Old Baily conviction of Balſe and M'Quirk, we *perceive*, we *feel* the *heroic* Spartan *exultation* over a brace of Helots, expiring in the *Cryptia*.

A thouſand *aſſes* braying in chorus, with the yelling of two thouſand *Tygers*, could not have raiſed an acclamation more harmoniouſly Spartan; nor could the *ingenuity* of the crew have ſucceeded better in contriving a method by which with one voice they might proclaim their *antipathy* to *humanity*, *decency*, *juſtice*, and *truth*; unleſs, indeed, *every* breaſt among them had been the *dungeon* of an *hell-inſpired* JUNIUS.

Thus, Mr. URBAN, we have recognized not indeed the *fame*, but the *ferocity* and *licenticuſneſs* of Lycurgus in the Legiſlator of M———x, and in the *ſentiments* and *cuſtoms* which are taking root under his protection.

That I ſhould fail, not bare'y in *reverence* but even in *juſtice* to our *Conſtitutional Politician*, if I conſidered his importance under any other character than that of Legiſlator, is manifeſt at firſt ſight; ſince from him are derived *principles* and *manners* original and peculiar; and becauſe we

obſerve that *implicit belief* in all his allegations—that *blind ſubmiſſion* to all his dictates—together with that "*fooliſh face of praiſe*," ſo univerſally ſimpering in every countenance, among his cullies; which no man ever obtained in his own favour, or ever pretended to obtain, but from legiſlative or dictatorial aſſumption.

The hiſtory of *antient* Legiſlation is neceſſarily involved in that general obſcurity which conceals from our inſpection the original condition of Kingdoms and Common-wealths; becauſe, ſociety acquiring by ſlow degrees ſettlement,—ſecurity,—order,—refinement,—and knowledge; could not begin to record its own progreſſion, until civilization had attained a conſiderable degree of perfection, and the firſt adopted ſyſtem of juriſprudence had been often altered, ſometimes improved, and at length became fixed and eſtabliſhed.

And this is not only true as to the firſt digeſt of Laws, and the hiſtory of their early adminiſtration, but it alſo holds of thoſe leſs formal, leſs authentic, but more early recorders of remote national events, Poets and Hiſtorians; for whether they chaunt the Ballad, or compile the Hiſtory, of the firſt adventures, uſages, and manners, of their reſpective ſtates, traditionary fables ſuggeſt alike to *both*, the perſonages and the plot of their ſtory; and their own imaginations are left to ſupply the prodigies, the virtues, the characteriſtics, and the colouring:—ſo that, far from finding in ſuch recitals a plain evidence of facts, or a ſolid foundation for our opinions, we muſt reſt contented with the *much* we chooſe to *believe*, ingeniouſly conjectured from the *little* we rationally *know*.

But with our *modern* Legiſlator, juſt the reverſe of this is the caſe. By the *very much* we certainly *know*, *very little* is left for conjecture to ſupply. Far removed from the neceſſity of tracing the

the bewildered intricate path through which the Patriarchs or Legiſlators of antient days led *their* Tribes, from the Mountain or the Foreſt, to the fruitful ſeats of ſecurity and civil regimen; we have only to obſerve, the plain and obvious *retrograde movement* by which our *Patriot* and *his Tribes* have *receded* from civilization, decency, and truth, to ignorance, ferocity, credulity, and injuſtice.

In this attempt, or rather in the general *ſucceſs* of this attempt, *our* Patriot has ſurpaſſed the atchievements of every preceding Legiſlator. Becauſe, to ſocialize mankind,—to ſoften their ferocity,—to give moderation to their paſſions, and morality to their manners;—Nature,—Truth,—Social Affection,—the ſafety of Individuals, and the defence and glory of the whole, co-operated with the Legiſlator; and together ſupplied that genuine cement of Society, which it was his higheſt honour *wiſely to temper*, and *ſkilfully to apply*; but far beyond his ability to *create*.

But in the general *diſſolution* of Civil Order, ſo happily effected by the Lawgiver of M——x; he had Nature, Truth, Laws—the civil intereſts of *moſt*, the moral obligations of *all*, and the ſecurity and well-being of *Society*,—to *counteract* and *ſubdue*.—On *his* principles, and to *his* purpoſes, no party could be formed, but among the avowed *devotees* of *Vice*, *Diſſipation*, *Temerity*, and *Libertiniſm*. Such were the *Deſperadoes* in Society, who formed the firſt band he inliſted. The laws of Truth and Sobriety were rejected before the Laws of W——s could be received; nor could he *boaſt an adherent* who was not firſt a *revolter* from Virtue.

Yet prophanely erected by ſuch hands, the *counterfeit* ſtandard of Liberty has *miſled* and *faſcinated* to his train, many of the incautious partizans of *genuine* Liberty and Honour. Many ſuch there

are *now* in his Corps, the *honeſt bigotry* of whoſe devotion to Freedom I revere; while I *lament* the deluſion of ſome, *deſpiſe* the folly of many more, and *execrate* the artifice by which *warm* but *honeſt* prejudices, *weak* but *well-meaning* ſuſpicions, have connected the *raſh* and the *ſimple* in the ſame enterprize with the *daring*, *determined*, and in too great a degree the *ſucceſsful ſubverters* of every good which divine or civil inſtitutions had appropriated to Society.

Let us, Mr. URBAN, give *words* to the *principles*, *manners*, and *proceedings* of our Patriot, and leave the world to judge whether they do not *diſtinctly ſpeak* to this effect:

" BRETHREN IN RIOT!
" ASSOCIATES IN LEWDNESS!
" COMPEERS IN PROFANENESS!
" PARTNERS IN POVERTY!

While your Ears yet remain *unſettered* by a Pillory; while your Feet ſtill *elude* the traverſeings of Bailiffs; while your Conſciences continue ſucceſsfully to *reſiſt* the feelings of Remorſe; and while *calm inflexible* Impudence yet bears its bronze *unabaſhed* on your Viſage;—attend to the exhortations of W——s the Patriot!

" Throughout the whole extent of Nature, *brutal* as well as *human*,—*ſavage* as well as *civilized*,—all creatures ſympathize with their kind, and even *precipitate* into combination with their ſpecies. Intereſt,—ſecurity,—enjoyment of every ſort, concur to urge animals in general, but in a more peculiar manner mankind, through all their civil ſubordinations to unite and coaleſce. Even the ſons of Diſſipation, to be *proſperous*, muſt firſt be *united!*

" Hard is the condition of Appetite! keenly ſet to procure itſelf *every* kind of gratification; yet curſedly curtailed in the completion of *any!* Even the ſatiety of the Voluptuary is a bliſs to be envied

envied by the *pining Pauper*, who taſtes pleaſure but by *Drops*; whoſe enjoyments are cut ſhort by the niggard humour of Fortune!

"A *beggarly* Man of Pleaſure is of all exiſtences the moſt wretched, except a *ſordid* Man of Wealth. Your appetites in their unremitting ſtimulations will bear witneſs to this truth. If poverty is *itſelf* the moſt wretched of all ſtates, the *indigence* of a Man of Pleaſure is the moſt wretched *condition* of Poverty. Need I enforce this truth to thoſe who *feel* more than I can *expreſs*; to thoſe whoſe unſatiated deſires impel the darts of Envy on their ſouls, ſwifter than the rapid flight of air can convey my words to their ears!

"But, dear Fellow-drudges in the filth of Obſcenity! 'tis not to *tell* you of your *poverty* that I now harangue you, but to *ſhew* you the means by which you may be *rich*. Gambling is a traffic requiring ſome wealth to ſet up in; and in however eminent a degree any among you may be felicitated by *Nature* with the *genius*, the *diſpoſition*, and the *intrepidity* of a Raſcal; his efforts will be in general unavailing as to any eminent effect, unleſs *Fortune* alſo contributes the *livery* and the *equipage* of Affluence.

"Single Rogues, as well as "little villains, ſubmit to fate:" while Raſcals in combination drive the world before them! Look on Trade,—on the Law,—on Phyſic,—on the Church;—look on every ſtage, where *Wealth* diſplays her Gold, or *Honour* waves her plume; and you will in *all* obſerve Companies, Societies, Colleges, and Chapters, eſtabliſhed:—Congregated Bodies, of which Avarice *alone* is the ſoul; the *informing*, the *actuating* principle.—Thus congregated, the abilities, the Credit, the power, of all *united*, become a ſolid fund of *Craft*, on which every *individual* may eſtabliſh his pretenſion to ſuch *emolument* or *honour* as the

ſyſtem

ſyſtem which has *adopted* him pretends to confer. The whole body ſtands engaged, by ſoothing, enſnaring, or directing, to lead the current of *Opinion* in their favour; and thus to convey to their reſpective members the wealth or the honour which *that current* conſtantly bears on its ſurface.

" Let then the indigent Diſciples of Pleaſure alſo aſſemble and unite! Let Fraternities of Revellers be eſtabliſhed! Let Profligacy aſſume a ſyſtem; and Debauchery commence a liberal art. In me behold the firſt ſyſtematical Profeſſor; in me behold, *more* than a Profeſſor, an *illuſtrious Veteran* in the adventures of Diſſipation;—an experienced *practitioner* in every *art* and *refinement* of Libertiniſm and Lewdneſs. But what am I ſaying?—'Tis not to *improve* Vice, but to *ſupport* it, that I now addreſs you.

" 'Tis a Mad World, my Maſters, we are to act our parts in."—" Some to *undo*, and ſome to be *undone*," is the general *event* of all that anxiety and buſtle, in which men *aſſemble*, on the Exchange—in the Alley—at the Chambers of Inns at Court—on the Floors of Arthur's or St. James's—on the Turf of Newmarket—in the ſanguine Fields of Mars—and on the heaving boſom of Neptune!

" In the wide domains of that God of Ocean, each *Fiſh* has its proper *ſubordinate Fiſh* conſigned to its ſeizure for *prey* and *ſupport*.—In the ſocieties of men, *Craft* has its *lure*, and *Oppreſſion* its *rod*, to entice or controul the artleſs and the weak, to adminiſter the ſupplies of *profuſion* to the ſagacious or the powerful.—A *Fool* inheriting the accumulated wealth of a *Miſer*, is noble game for a *ſingle* Hound to *ſcent out* and *run down*; ſuch *ſolid* and *delicious* food for profligacy is *rarely* to be found. But 'tis not a *ſingle object*—not a *ſelect ſolitary Fool* that *I point out* for the purſuit of a *ſingle Spaniel*. No: 'tis a *prey* for the

Pack

Pack—a proviſion—a ſplendid, a luxurious a laſting *proviſion*, for the *whole Kennel*; which 'tis *my* glory to point out, and may be *your* felicity under *my* leading to acquire.

" Great and indiſpenſable are the demands which Neceſſity makes on Profligacy. Dreſs—and without *dreſs*, what is Man?—may indeed be *procured* on credit; but credit has its term; and *is* it not a *ſhort* one? at the expiration of *which*, it *departs*, never to *return*. Wine cannot *long* be had on tick;—Whores cannot *always* be bilked;—and even the *cow-heel* for their ſupport coſts *ſomething*. Repeated claps cannot be ſtopped without *money*; Conſtables will be *paid* for broken heads; Bailiffs will not *wink* without *perquiſites*, nor Lawyers without *fees*; neither the drubbings we *confer*, nor the bruiſes we *receive*, in our higheſt exertions of *wit*, will be cured without *ſalve*;—and *ſalves*, as well as *ſalivation*, muſt be *paid* for.

" I do not enumerate your wants, beloved Brethren of the Brothel! to humiliate the loftineſs of your ſpirits, or to hint *reproach* on your induſtry, or your parts. I know by my own *feelings*, the difficulties you labour under: — I *feel*—I *pity*—and I will *relieve* them.

" Many of the ſupplies of indigent Men of Pleaſure are entirely *cut off*;—more are *curtailed*. The Fair, who uſed to pay ſo liberally for the *ſecret ſervices* of Gallantry are now ſo open, and unreſerved, that they find an unlimited *variety* in the *free*, *unbought*, and *diverſified* exchanges of the objects of their endearment. For much the ſame reaſon it is, that *Pimping*, another very valuable *reſource* in the revenue of a needy Man of *Honour*, is almoſt entirely *ſunk*; the *open* and u reſerved Gallantry now ſo much in vogue, rendering any ſuch *covert*, or *refined* negociator of little uſe or value. It ſeldom, alas! happens more than *once* in a

Rake's

Rake's *life*, that the *plunder* of a wealthy heireſs is brought to the *fund* of Pleaſure in the *pocket* of a *wife*. Rarely, *very rarely*, is it his good luck to deſpoil *two* ſuch *victims*; and even to acquiring the *pillage* of *one*, the Marriage Act, as it *now* ſtands, raiſes almoſt inſuperable obſtructions.

"But that which ſinks deepeſt, and cauſes the moſt ruinous reduction in our ſtated finances, is the revolution which has happened in the *whole ſyſtem of Sharping*. Mordington's is *no more!* Arthur's is to us *inacceſſible!* When young Lords contented themſelves with being *Beaux*;—when *facility* was reckoned politeneſs;—when a careleſs graceful *prodigality* diſtinguiſhed the *genuine* Man of Faſhion from the *Cit* or the *'Squire*;—much good *Plunder* was *then* to be had, while they remained in their *butterfly ſtate*.—Experience with years, indeed, at length made them *Sharpers*; but it was an experience which they bought of *us* on our *own* terms; and thoſe were *ſuch*, that in general we acquired *half* their fortunes, for learning them how to preſerve the *remainder* to themſelves.

"But thoſe good days are no more. The Liberal Arts, which are preſſing on ſo rapidly to reach the goal of perfection, are all of them outſtripped by the moſt *liberal of all arts*, the Art of *Gambling*; for that is at the goal already!—In the intercourſe of the Sexes among the Great, "one is no longer to one curſedly confined." Perhaps this *ſpirited* procreation may give that *vigour* to the infant *Genius*, which brings it at once to an *early* and *perfect* maturity. Or is this forward perfection procured by an *improved* culture in *training* the riſing underſtanding? Perhaps *both* may concur: but whether it proceeds from theſe cauſes *ſeparately* or *united*, or from whatever other cauſe it proceeds;—certain it is, there is no longer a *ſlow progreſſion* in *craft*; but a *well-born*, *jockey-bred* Boy of twenty-one will burſt

burſt out on the Town, as finiſhed—as complete—a maſter in all the art of *chicanery* as his Grandfather was at *Seventy*. Avarice is the univerſal ruling paſſion; it ſets out with their *firſt ſtep* into life—conducts them through its *whole* courſe—and will "ſtick to the laſt ſand." Nor is it perfection in *one* walk of avarice, which limits the geniuſes of modern *Boy-ſharpers*. Their youthful minds fully *comprehend* the whole circle of Gambling; ſo that with the ſame eaſe and addreſs, the ſame illuſtrious youth will be a *Jockey* in the Alley, and a *Jew* on the Turf; will *pack cards* at A[illegible]s, or turn *jobber* for a Borough;—will be a concealed *penſioner* and an open declaimer in the H[illegible]e *againſt* penſions;—and through all *perſevere*, a *polite*, *accompliſhed*, *ſkilful* Scoundrel.

"In the encounter with *ſuch adepts*, *little* ought to be hazarded, becauſe in general *nothing* is to be got.—But that CULLIBILITY which in the *Great* is no longer to be relied on for our ſupport, readily ſubmits to our direction in its full extent and facility among the *People*. No more the *ſlaves* of *Prieſts*, they ſtill remain the *docile dupes of Patriots*; and their *purſes*, which Church Credulity ſo long kept *open* to the pilfering of their ſpiritual *guides*, are now indeed *cloſed* to *them*; but it is only to be ſtretched ſtill wider, to the *deeper divings* of their Political *Drivers*.

"Rejoice then, dear Companions in the dolours of Debauchery, at the opening proſpect! Let thoſe dolours be forgot in the *joy* I now ſet before your view;—in the *plunder* I now place within your reach—*Property*, which you know how to *enjoy*, *ſhall* be yours;—becauſe *Power*, which I know how to *direct*, *is* mine.

"A *Priſoner* myſelf, I wind up to my own *pitch*, and apply to my *own purpoſes*, the paſſions of the multitude.—A *Beggar* myſelf, I have the

gold of *Miſers* at my command.—*Weak* as I am in *power*, I can obſtruct the operations of a mighty government:—*Weaker ſtill* as I am in *knowledge*, I can *impoſe* ſentiment and belief upon an *ingenious* People.

"Submiſſion awaits on my nod!—To *my Baronet* I ſay, *Go*—and he *goeth*;—to *my Alderman*, *Come*—and he *cometh*;—to my L^ord M^ayor, *Do this*—and he *doth it*:—I can even rejoice with St. Paul, that "having nothing I am poſſeſſing all things."—Is not this *Glory?* Is not this *Power?*—Yes,

——"I am, I muſt be proud to ſee,
"Men not afraid of *God* afraid of me."

POPE.

Demand you on what this deſpotiſm is founded? On the *dear*, *weak*, *venerable*, *credulous* CULLIBILITY of the PEOPLE.

"It is, in many caſes, much eaſier to *make* men Fools, than to *keep* them ſo: it may be *thus* in mine. And it is on *this* occaſion, that your aſſiſtance, my Friends and Allies, will be of ſuch importance. It muſt be by *your* aid, that thoſe *deluſions* which were ſwallowed with *zeal*, are not rejected with *ſcorn*. I aſk not your *Heads*, but your *Lungs*, in my ſupport:—Keep up, with all your *wind*, the *roar* of Grievances, that the *reality* of Grievances may not be ſuſpected. If our followers are ſuffered to pauſe,—they may doubt:—if they doubt, they may examine:—if *they* examine, *we* are undone.

"Innumerable examples make it evident, that "trifles light as air" will excite that *jealouſy of the power of the Crown*, which is ſo deeply rooted in the national temper of the Engliſh, as to form its leading characteriſtic. If I do not know the *conſtitution* of my *Country*, yet I clearly comprehend

hend the *conſtitutions* of my *Countrymen*; whoſe inveterate jealouſy of the Crown was that principle, which as wiſe and as honeſt Patriots as any nation ever produced, excited and directed *glorioufly* for themſelves, *happily* for the public Liberty, till they had *burſt and buried* thoſe *Chains* which *Stuart* Tyranny, and *Prelatical* Pride, had impoſed on the nation.

" The Revolution, which *effectually* reſtrained the Power of the Crown, did not *eradicate* the jealouſy of the People. The ſame ſpirit, which had *before* been conſtantly arrouſed by the Manly Call of Freedom, became *after that period* eaſily awakened by the *mimic* voice of *Craft*. Seduction aſſumed the expreſſion and the viſage of Patriotiſm; —and to form *Impoſtures*, and play them off, in perfect *taſte* to the *tranſient humour* of Popular Jealouſy, ſoon became of *all* occupations the moſt *lucrative*.

" In this impoſture-traffic, we are happily now *far* advanced. England is the fineſt ſtage in the world for Patriot Impoſtures to play their tricks upon; and the moſt ſplendid Puppet-ſhew ever yet exhibited, is formed when a conſiderable part of the People of E[illegible]d are ſet *jumping*, and *ſtrutting*, and *kicking*, and *ſqueaking*, by the *ſkilful* management of certain *political wires*, at the *expence*, and for the *amuſement*, of thoſe in the front of the ſtage; and to the *very*, *very*, *great profit* of the *managers* behind the ſcenes.

" You ſee what a *ſett* I have collected to act the *farce* of Grievances, and how *cleverly* they perform: Let it but appear that our farce is *beſpoke*, and that we *act* by *Deſire* of a *Reſpectable Part of the* H— of C——, and all our *fortunes* are infallibly *made*.

" That Punch of yours, Mr. Manager, whom you have nick-named JUNIUS, (ſays the Miniſter) throws out his *lyes* ſo *thick*, and is ſo d[illegible]n'd

abuſive;—and *you* have beſides, ſet *all* your *Puppets* into ſuch a curled *ſqueak*; that we can neither get ſleep by night, or quiet by day.—Poſitively, there is no ſtanding it any longer. What are your terms to *ſtop* Punch's mouth,—to *turn off* your Puppets,—and *provide* for yourſelf and all your company, both thoſe *within* doors, and thoſe *without*?"

"Only, I reply, Chanc. Ex *choquer* and 3 Tre—— 4 Ad *mirals* 5 Tra—— Sec—— and Houſe-h *olds* and Seals—and Biſh *ops* and a Flag—on the Staff—Regiments—and Deans—Exciſe Boards—and Preb *ends* Hawkers and Pedlars—and Stamp—and Cuſtoms—and Poſt—Penſions to *Sundry*, not to exceed in the *whole* ten thouſand pound *per annum*—with Carte Blanche for Navy and Army Commiſſions—Crown Livings—and little ſine-cure Places of 200 or 300*l.* a Year.—Let theſe *terms* be fairly engroſſed, and brought to me, neatly tied up with *one blue* and *four red ribbons*—and a full ſecurity that they ſhall be made good—and *Punch* and my Puppets ſhall be mute in a moment; never to be ſet a *ſqueaking* again by *me*.—

"Nothing can be more modeſt," ſays the Miniſter:—Pretty much the ſame *terms* I made when I *quitted Puppet-managing*;—you underſtand this though, that the *uſual perquiſite penſions* at going out, with the *reſerved* Places, muſt be ſecured to *me* and *mine*."—All the reaſon in the world, I reply.—So 'tis, *Done*—and, *Done*.

"Methinks, Gentlemen, I hear the Miniſter ſtill going on.—"And pray, my *Dear—Old—New—Adverſary—Friend*, what Poſt do you intend to honour by your own Occupation?"—My dear Sir, I reply, you know I am wholly devoted to *pleaſure*;—I muſt have a place, in which there *can be* no earthly thing *to do*.—I know not how it is, but men of *diſtinguiſhed merit* riſe up ſo very *faſt*, it is not poſſible to accommodate *all* on the *old* eſta-

eſtabliſhment.—Public Virtue cannot be rewarded without the appointment of *more* Places. I ſhall take a *new one* to myſelf, becauſe I will not ſtand in the way of any Man of Honour;—and beſide, I muſt have an *abſolute ſine-cure*;—ſo I intend to be called *Receiver General of the American Revenues*, with Three Thouſand Pounds Salary.—I think it ſounds *pretty*; and very *conſtitutional.*"

"And thus, my dear Fellow-Workers in Political Machinery! we *all* ſail into the Port of Affluence, full before the wind, blowing a *briſk gale* of *popularity*. If it ſhould immediately after *veer about*, and blow hard full in *our teeth*, it will be nothing at all to us; we ſhall be ſafe in harbour, well moored, and not in a condition to fear being *driven out* to ſea again. My Puppets I ſhall turn adrift, to be *picked up*, and ſet to *ſqueaking Grieveances again*, to the *ſame* effect, by the next *ſtrolling company* who want to pick up a few *Patriot-pence*;—and as to *us*, the Exchequer and the World are both open before us.

"The *Miniſter* I have conceived myſelf to be treating with, muſt come *Plenipo* from the king himſelf. I have ſufficiently *made known* my intention not to treat with his majesty's Miniſters. If G—ge is King of Engl., J—hn is King of M—idlesex; and I will not diſgrace my dignity: my determination on that head is well known. (For a *genuine* ſpecimen of *K— J—'s extreme impudence* and *ſtupidity*, ſee *Gentleman Magazine* for March 1769. p. 128.

"And thus I aſſume the authority of a K—; and as I do, on the *word of a Gentleman*, aſſure you I am the firſt of my family, that *ever was one*, I alſo aſſert and claim the right of a *Legiſlator*.

"The world is not our friend, nor the World's Law;" we will therefore *abrogate* that *Law*, and ſet the *world itſelf* at defiance. Little, my Faithful Friends in the cauſe of Libertiniſm! little had I per-

I performed for the *advancement* of that cauſe—for your *happineſs*,—for my own *glory*,—if in procuring affluence, I had not alſo effectually provided for our free, unreſtrain'd, enjoyment of that affluence, in as much *riot* and *voluptuouſneſs* as our *hearts* can conceive—our *heads* can invent—our *health* can endure—or the full *plunder of a nation* can maintain.

" Let it—I commanded—be received and held ſacred, as the allegiance oath to my government, That the pureſt Patriotiſm is perfectly conſiſtent with the groſſeſt debauchery: That a Love of Liberty naturally induces a burleſque on Religion: and, That the *vileſt private character* is not *at all incompatible* with the nobleſt *public ſpirit*.

" I ſtand aſtoniſhed, my ſelect Friends, at my own magnanimity, in *daring* to divulge *ſuch* dogmas. I had even *bluſhed* when I broached them, if *bluſhing* had not been *impoſſible* to a Patriot. I muſt however aver, in juſtice to my own diſcretion, that before I ventured to try, if our Committee and Supporter Enthuſiaſts would *ſwallow* theſe powerful *expellents* of *Senſe* and *Morality*, I had received indubitable proofs of their readineſs to ſwallow *every thing*.

" Gape, Gentlemen, I ſaid:—A little *wider*, if you pleaſe—and *down went* at one gulp the adventure of St. George's-fields, and an horrible Maſſacre, all of my own toſſing-up.—Bring the *tips* of your *Noſes*, I intreat you, into a ſomewhat *higher degree* of elevation—fix your eyes ſteadily upon the ſky, *directly* over your heads—and drop your *chins* about *two inches* nearer to your breaſts. —There—Very well—That will do.—This which you are now going to ſwallow, is my *Eſſay on Woman*, which you are *re*-ceive—and *per*-ceive—and *con*-ceive—and *be*-lieve—and to ſwear bloodily, to the truth, and the whole truth, of that belief—as a little

a little innocent amuſement—a diverting ramble of the Pen—an ingenious paraphraſe on Solomon's Song;—ſomewhat *myſterious*, but mighty *witty*;—never *deſigned* to be *publiſhed*, as is evident by my *ſetting* a *preſs* to *print it*;—the moſt *unlikely thing* in the world, that *people ſhould* PRINT *Books that they might be* READ.—There—well done:—But don't ſwallow ſo greedily—take a little time.—So—'tis all down.

"Doctor! ſaid I to my Friend H——rne, they are in a *fine attitude*, and in choice *good humour* for ſwallowing.—I will keep their *jaws* upon the *full ſtretch*, while you run to my Bureau for my Anti-conſcience Boluſſes (containing the *three dogmas* above mentioned). If we can get *them* down their throats, the day is our own;—their gullets will *ever after* remain wide open, and I can ſend down *forty million* of unaccountable Grievances, without their once *kecking* at them.—"Zounds! ſaid the Reverend Doctor, if you cram them ſo faſt, they may caſt *all up* again we have *got down* hitherto."—Never fear, I replied; implicit faith like *theirs* will *reject nothing*; whatever I dare to *give them*, they will *not dare* to *refuſe*;—and the event has fully confirmed my judgment.

"And this happy expulſion of truth and common ſenſe, has fully completed my great Patriotic deſign; as it has driven away *Religion* and *Morality*, which *oppoſe our pleaſures*, by the *ſame means* which procure us public money in plenty to *ſupport* them.—This indeed is Liberty!—and this Liberty in its full extent, I have procured, and will eſtabliſh in favour of *us* and our *cauſe*.

"Public prejudice, by the ſtrength we derive from it, ſets us *free* from Law, or makes us thrive by proſecution;—public *money* ſets us *free* from *duns*;—public *applauſe* ſets us *free* from *ſhame*;—the *ſuppreſſion of conſcience* ſets us *free* from remorſe;

morſe;—the *burleſque* of *Religion* ſets us *free* from *futurity fears*;—and the *total renunciation of Religious, Moral*, and *Civil Truth*, which my Followers have *made*, in *admitting* my three dogmas, ſets us *free* from *any reproaches* which *they* can reaſonably make at preſent. But if after this *direct* and *complete* excluſion of *Law, Religion, Decency*, and *Morals*, to which my *faithful Followers* have ſo *zealouſly aſſented*, any wrong-headed devotee to No. 45. ſhould, in the *ſtupidity* of his *ſoul*, ſneakingly inquire, what *ſecurity* is left—for the preſervation of their Fortunes *againſt* Cheats and Gamblers—of their wives *againſt* adulterers—of their daughters *againſt* laſcivious ſeduction, or force—of their ſons *againſt* drunkenneſs, riot, gaming, blaſphemy, and the pox—and of themſelves *againſt ruin, remorſe*, and *deſpair*;—you may, Gentlemen, after extendings your *fore-head* in a *ſneer*, or your *mouth* in a *grin*, tell the *ſimpleton, he* and his *fellows* are welcome to *all* the ſecurity they can *acquire*, by combining the FAITH of a Blaſphemer with the CREDIT of a Gambler, and the HONOUR of a Debauchee.

"Yet a little while and all our woes are paſt." The *good* we have in *view* is ſo near being in *poſſeſſion*, that it is natural to *ſpeak* of it with as much *aſſurance* as if it was already in our hands; until it actually is ſo, it muſt be *your* endeavor and mine to give Clamour all the energy and plauſibility it can receive from bold aſſertions,—loud and virulent ſcurrility,—and the moſt *ſpirited inſults* we can *invent* on the *higheſt character* both in *dignity* and *virtue*.

"When the clamour *without doors* is admitted and tranſfuſed into ſpeeches *within*;—or when ſpeeches *within*, are melted down and incorporated with the current clamours *without*;—a conjunction is formed, which has never yet failed from the Revolution to this time, ſooner or later, to *exalt*

Patriots

Patriots into power, and to *reduce* Place-men to the ſupplicating condition of Patriots.

"*We* ſhall be no otherwiſe conſiderable to S—n-a t—r Patriots, than as we can *raiſe*, *ſupport*, and *extend* the *clamour* of grievances: *Minority S--n--rs* are only conſiderable to us, by *adopting* the *baſtard grievances* which we have *conceived* and *brought forth*; or by ſupplying us with a *brood* of *their own nurſeing up* for us to *adopt* in our turn. But whether *we adopt* their *impoſtures*, or *they ours*, it matters but little;—ſince 'tis the mere *ſpirit of adoption* that unites us *all* into *one* family; includes us *all* in *one* intereſt; engages us *all* in *one* cauſe; viz. to *inveſt* and *obtain* the Exchequer, either by *capitulation* or by *ſtorm*; and then, an entrance being once made, by whatever means it happens, —Pillage will be the word; and every aſſailant will charge *his back* and *his conſcience* with as *heavy a load* as he can ſtand under without hazarding *a fall*.

"Thus, Gentlemen, the truth of the maxim I began with, is fully demonſtrated; "That the Sons of Diſſipation, to be *proſperous*, muſt firſt be *united*." Towards the end of laſt S—ſſi—n, a pretty hopeful Minority *be-ſpeeched* our vulgar clamour into ſome ſmall notice. The *next* S——n may take up the *tale*, where the Patriots of the *laſt left off*; in which caſe, if we *be-roar* and they *be-rhetoric* the din of grievances, till the M—ni—r's head turns giddy, all the affluence I have been propoſing to your hopes, will infallibly deliver itſelf in your poſſeſſion.

"In the mean time, my Committee of Apprehenſions ſhall ſet their *ſmall wits* to work upon a freſh Collection of Complaints;—for that *d—m'd Petition*, which *no body would own*, has totally *loſt us* as pretty a ſet of Grievances as ever ſent Miniſter to the gloom of a Country-ſeat. It has damped

the *apprehenſions* of my whole Committee, to find the firſt effort of their invention ſo pitifully *miſcarried*. Don't be diſcouraged, I ſaid;—you ſhall ſoon have my *volatile Salts of Freedom*;—a *bottle* for each *manikin*, to ſmell at, when he is faint;—but be ſure remember the advice of Mr. Bayes, who always "took a *purge* before he entered upon a work which required *great invention*." Buy a proper quantity of Jalap out of the next remittance from America; and when it is paſſed off, you may go to *work* upon a *new* ſet of Grievances, to be fit for Ventilation a few weeks before the meeting of the Parliament. Yes; we will have another Petition, with a freſh aſſortment of Apprehenſions that never were blown upon; and care ſhall be taken, againſt it is carried up, to find out a Lord Mayor* that ſhall ſwear by G—d 'tis all true.

"And now, Gentlemen, though I have already made you a Speech full as long as a Quarter Seſſions; I muſt ſtill add a few words to requeſt,—That as the ſeaſon of the year is come, in which you are to retire into your ſeveral Counties; you would exert your utmoſt efforts to *ſubvert* the public peace, and to *confound* every kind of order, Civil, Moral, and Religious, among the people. You muſt be *ſenſible*, that whatever *preſerves* in any degree the regular execution of the *Laws* of *God*, and of the *Land*, weakens *my* authority, and leſſens the *only ſecurity* which *my* people *can* have for the undiſturbed enjoyment of public plunder, in every kind of licentious perſonal gratification. From

* This is to be underſtood no otherwiſe than as a vain-glorious boaſt of the Conſtitutional Politician. The writer of the Letter by no means intends any perſonal ſatire upon this occaſion; nor indeed *could* he have any ſuch deſign; becauſe the Letter was nearly finiſhed by the beginning of September laſt; and would have been publiſhed in the following month, if an accident had not then removed him from his Papers, and by that means occaſioned a delay of near four months.

your

your endeavours in this common cauſe, I promiſe myſelf the moſt ſalutary effects.—Any falſehood, ſlander, or ſuſpicion, againſt the Public Adminiſtration in general; or any perſonal crime, reproach, defect, or mi-fortune, you can collect, by ſetting ſpies upon the families of our principal adverſaries; or by opening your ears, and, if need be, your purſes, to common proſtitute tale-bearers; will be joyfully received. Such informations will be recommended to our Committee, in order to receive *every poſſible aggravation* which *malignity* can *invent*. Our JUNIUS then ſhall put them into *ſmooth well reading* Engliſh; Our H[illegible] ſhall ſound forth their benediction; and Ourſelf ſhall *chuck them* down the gullets of my people; being fully convinced, that in ſo doing, I ſhall moſt effectually provide for their true intereſt, and happineſs."

I am not conſcious, Mr. URBAN, of having done any material injuſtice to the principles, manners, and proceedings, of Mr. W——, by thus rendering them into legible language. The principles and the actions ſpeak the man; and all I have attempted is, by a proper mode of expreſſion to ſupply *words* to *thoſe actions* and *principles*. I have not *deſignedly aſcribed* any thing malignant to either, that is not neceſſarily included in them, or fairly deducible from them. I am, however, far from intending to charge the *perſonal character of Mr. W——* with the actual commiſſion of every crime, diſorder, and wickedneſs, ſuggeſted in the foregoing ſpeech; yet if many of them are not to be found in his practice, they do all of them, together with a long train of the ſame complexion, *naturally reſult* from the *licentiouſneſs* of *his own patriotiſm*; from the *immoral ſentiments* propagated in *his favour*; and from that *heterodox political creed*, compounded of both, and received by *too*

many of his *well-meaning* but *ill-judging* adherents. For I do aver, that every *poſſible* act of *wickedneſs* and *diſorder*, both *moral* and *civil*, is *tolerated*, is *authorized*, is *recommended*, by all who advance, and by all who *deliberately* inculcate, theſe propoſitions: That a *notorious blaſphemer* of the *Religion* of his *Country* may be a faithful Patron of its *Liberties*; and, That the utmoſt exceſſes in extravagance, debauchery, and profaneneſs, are very *conſiſtent* with a *true Patriot ſpirit*,—with a *genuine love of our country*,—with a clear conception of its conſtitution and intereſt,—and with a *zealous* attachment to its general and laſting proſperity.

Theſe principles, blaſphemous as they are to the laws of truth, and to the rights of ſociety, have not failed to produce among too many, the whole of their malignant effect; and have even rendered the *zealous* and *active* partizans of Mr. W—— as oppreſſive, as unjuſt, as inhuman, as baſe in their practices, as they are wild, extravagant, and profligate, in the principles they have adopted.

I ſay, the *zealous* and *active* partizans; becauſe I am induced, both by inclination and juſtice, to exempt from the ſeverity of this cenſure very many ſenſible, honeſt, humane, Britons; who, firſt deluded by an enthuſiaſtic paſſion for the *idea* of Civil Liberty, and then alarmed by ſuſpicions of dangers which never exiſted, and inflamed by the pretences of injuries which never were offered; are blindly led on merely to ſerve the *intereſt*, and to execute the *vengeance*, of their ſeducers; while they are duped into a perſuaſion, that they are advancing and confirming the cauſe of Freedom.

Religious and Civil liberty, Mr. URBAN, are, beyond all doubt, to be reckon'd among the moſt important benefits and bleſſings which the talents of men can acquire, or the goodneſs of Providence, in this life, can confer. If an exceſs of zeal, and

ſome

ſome temporary evils reſulting from it, are excuſeable in any cauſe, they certainly are in the general cauſe of National Liberty, the nobleſt of all cauſes. But though *candor* ſuggeſts, and *juſtice* allows, this excuſe for the deluded, honeſt, paſſionate, enthuſiaſt; yet no excuſe can be *ſuggeſted* by *candor*, or any *admitted* by *juſtice*, in behalf of the *crafty*, *intereſted*, *vindictive* deluder.

There never was a more ſtriking example of that extravagance of abſurdity, injuſtice, and cruelty, into which ſuch wily ſeducers might betray the credulous, unwary bigot to Liberty, than appeared when the pardon of the Iriſh Chairmen was traduced into a grievance; and a conduct, for which every honeſt, humane, unprejudiced Briton gave the higheſt applauſe to his moſt amiable Sovereign, was *belied*; to inſtigate an *inſult*, the moſt deteſtable in itſelf, and the moſt abhorred by every diſpaſſionate friend to Liberty, that ever was offered to the *ſecurity* and *honour* of the Royal reſidence.

Civil Enthuſiaſm has its fits of guilty fury, no leſs direful in their effects than the worſt exceſſes of religious zeal: the Patriotic FRENZY OF FREEDOM has often its thirſt of blood, as inſatiable as the rancour of Prieſtly Vengeance; and the vindictive *civil rage* which drives the *injured victim* to the Gallows; is, in ſome reſpects, even *more* to be *abhorred*, than the ſanctified, orthodox fury, which impels its Martyr to the Faggot.

It is, Mr. URBAN, in the ſpirit of this *abhorrence*, that I proceed to conſider the caſe of the Iriſh Chairmen; in whoſe cauſe I *feel* as a Man, and *reſent* as a Briton, whoſe Life—whoſe property—whoſe reputation—are, either ſecurely guarded by *Conſtitutional Juſtice*, alike, from the oppreſſion of *Regal—Miniſterial--Prieſtly*--and FACTIOUS TYRANNY; or, if they are not, all pretences to conſtitutional

ſtitutional protection, amount to no more than an abuſe or perverſion of language.

As a Briton, therefore, juſtly alarmed for the honour and ſtability of that Government which is to protect his All,—and not as a *proſtitute advocate* for any of its adminiſtrators—I ſhall give you, Mr. URBAN, and the Public through your hands, my free-born ſentiments on the Trial and the Pardon of the Iriſh Chairmen.

If there can be any thing more diſgraceful than the ſtate of a *paſſive tool to a Miniſter*, it is the condition of a *credulous dupe to a Faction*. I am neither; my conſcience *alone* directs my ſentiments, and I ſpeak them in my own language.—It is not a M——r illuſtrious in the execrable liſts of Newmarket; a M——r who heretofore *debaſed* himſelf by a party-connexion with the *worthleſs W——s*; a M——r, who acquired the power he lately directed, by the ſame ſupplanting arts of popular ſeduction which are now played off againſt himſelf;—it is not, I ſay, ſuch a Miniſter in whoſe *perſonal* defence I would ſtain an inch of Paper.—So far as the conteſt is *merely perſonal* between M——r and Patriot, what do moſt of the allegations of the *former* againſt the *latter* amount to?—Even to—"damning thoſe arts which cauſed himſelf to riſe," and to little more.

On the other hand, though I have no motive of intereſt or inclination in *ſupporting* the character of the M——r, I have conceived no *prejudices* againſt him, except the opinion I have of the faults above ſuggeſted may paſs for ſuch. And therefore, if it appears he has acted right—wiſely—and humanely, through the part aſcribed to him, in the above-mentioned tranſaction; it is no fear of *popular cenſures* ſhall deter *me* from giving *him* the praiſes due to ſo meritorious a conduct.

As

As I might have been, in common with other Britons, a Jury-man on the trial of the Chairmen, had the cauſe of proſecution ariſen in the County where I reſide; I ſhall conſider myſelf as being *actually* a jury-man; and as *ſuch* I ſhall examine the *printed* evidence with the ſame attention, freedom, and candour, I ſhould have ſhewn to the *verbal*; and ſhall form my opinion of the merits of the proſecution with as much circumſpection as if the reſult of that opinion was in *reality* to decide upon the juſtice due to the Priſoners and the Public.

In this examination, I ſhall conſider the plain proofs of the Facts alleged in the indictment, as the great object of my attention; ſince 'tis the manifeſt duty of a jury-man to decide upon the principles of *moral juſtice*, whether the charge contained in the indictment is or is not fairly eſtabliſhed by candid and competent evidence, produced in behalf of the proſecution.

The Law of England, which calls out indiſcriminately every man included in a certain deſcription of local property, to diſcharge the important office of a Jury-man, does not ſuppoſe any other qualification requiſite to a full diſcharge of that duty, but *plain ſenſe*, a *good conſcience*, and a *diſpoſition* free from every *bias of intereſt or paſſion* reſpecting the cauſe in which his verdict is required. But tho' no other qualifications are deemed neceſſary, *theſe* are *all of them indiſpenſably* ſo; becauſe if any one of them is defective, the deciſion muſt remain in the utmoſt peril of being raſh, partial, iniquitous, or oppreſſive.

Knowledge in *Law* is not at all required in a Jury-man; nor is it poſſible it ſhould be *required*; becauſe, in general, it is not poſſible *to be had*. As a Jury-man, therefore, I entirely diſclaim all pretenſions to that kind of knowledge. And indeed,

deed, the various opinions that have been ſo long agitated by the Public on the Pardon of the Chairmen, are not affected by the *legality* or *illegality*, but merely by the *equity* of the conviction, and the *expediency* of granting a pardon, after ſentence of death had paſſed in conſequence of it.

The Engliſh conſtitution, to mitigate the *ſeverity* in *many*, and to obviate even the *injuſtice* in *ſome* penal ſentences *ſtrictly legal*; has very wiſely, very humanely, veſted in the Crown a right to pardon ſuch convicts as might otherwiſe ſuffer *legally* yet *unjuſtly*; and even under ſome circumſtances, where both *law* and *juſtice*, according to the ſtrictneſs of literal conſtruction, might concur to condemn; *humanity* is impowered to aſſert its important rights; and to abſolve a condemnation, which, with all its ſtrictneſs of *law* and *juſtice*, might be much too *rigorous* for that ſpirit of moderation, which, in all well-regulated Governments, will conſtantly remind the ſupreme adminiſtrator, "in the midſt of juſtice to remember mercy."

The queſtion in the caſe before us is, Whether the K——, in granting the pardon, did or did not act with that wiſdom and propriety which ſhould always preſerve, in the final deciſion of the ſupreme magiſtrate, the virtuous mean between juſtice and mercy? Or, in other words, Whether in ſhewing *mercy* to the two men under ſentence of death, the *juſtice* due to the preſervation of public order was not infringed? The K—'s *right* to pardon is not conteſted; that *right* is as clearly legal as any mode of conviction could poſſibly be: but whether that right was applied in the preſent inſtance in perfect conſiſtency with the rules of moral and civil juſtice, is the queſtion to be determined.

The K——, or his Miniſters, have been repeatedly charged on this occaſion with ſupporting a

Party,

Party, in oppoſition to the *general ſenſe* of the people; with committing the moſt horrible outrage on national juſtice, by protecting from its ſentence two *notorious* offenders; with *encouraging* murder, and even with *rewarding* murderers. —— Such is the charge! — In defending our moſt amiable and truly gracious Sovereign, and his Miniſters, from the falſhood and malice contained in it, I cannot be thought to revive a clamour which was ſinking into oblivion; ſince at this very time [the end of Auguſt] I read in a common news-paper, that the wiſe men of Wiltſhire, in framing a Petition of Grievances, ſpecify but *two*; the violated right of Election, and the *pardon* in queſtion. And theſe are certainly inſiſted on, becauſe they are conceived to be of the *greateſt importance.*

This pardon then, in ſpite of time for raſhneſs to cool; and in direct denial of the cleareſt proof the caſe could admit that the wound on Mr. Clark's head was *not* the cauſe of his death, ſtill continues, by the faſcinating arts of Faction, to be received as *a capital grievance.*

By the judgment we may form of the reality or enormity of this *capital* grievance, after a full and candid examination of its pretenſions, we may not unfairly conceive the validity and importance of the other *minor* grievances; ſince, if that on which the Faction ſeems to lay the *greateſt* ſtreſs (next to the Election Grievance) is found void of *all foundation*, we may ſafely infer the looſeneſs of the ground on which the others ſtand, without the trouble of exploring its bottom.

In order to determine how far the pardon was a violation of national juſtice, and as ſuch a grievance; we will examine with ſome preciſion what *degree*, and what *malignity* of guilt could be imputed to the Chairmen;—the kind of evidence produced;—the manner in which it was *obtained*;—the cu-

rious enterprize of their *apprehenſion*;—and the clear amount of *conviction* reſulting from the whole proſecution.

I now, Mr. URBAN, aſſume the Juryman; and will *write* to you, juſt as I conceive I ſhould have *reaſoned* with myſelf, after all the witneſſes had been heard, and I had been ſhut up with my Brethren to determine the verdict.

And firſt I obſerve, that in ſupport of the proſecution for the Murder of Mr. Clark—not *one* of his family or relations,—not *one* ſervant or attendant in the houſe where he died,—not *one* medical perſon of any kind, who attended him in his illneſs, ever appeared upon the *trial*.—I do not barely ſay ſuch a diſregard of the proſecution, on the *part of his family*, is *unuſual*; it is perfectly *ſingular*; it is even *criminal*, if you ſuppoſe thoſe, under whoſe *immediate obſervation* the laſt days of his life were paſſed, had conceived any ſuſpicion that the blow on his head occaſioned his death. Nothing is more *natural*, nothing is more *juſt*, and I may add too, nothing is more *common*, than for the *family* of the deceaſed to be the *moſt* active in the inſtitution and ſupport of a proſecution, when they apprehend there is the *leaſt* reaſon to believe they were deprived of their relation by an act of violence.

But beſides it is not barely the *decorum* and *propriety* with which the family of the deceaſed appear in *ſupport* of ſuch a proſecution; which by their inſtitution, or at leaſt concurrence, is ſet before the public in a fair and impartial light; but the *evidence* of the family, in a caſe circumſtanced as this is, becomes *indiſpenſably neceſſary*. Mr. Clark lived at his proper home *ſix days* after receiving the blow; that is, from the 8th to the 14th of December. Is it credible, that in all that time, during a very great part of which his ſenſes and

memory

memory were clear and undiſturbed, *nothing* of the murder ſhould have been apprehended by his family, *nothing* of it ſuggeſted *to them* by himſelf, nor any depoſition made by him before a magiſtrate, in relation to the *time* and *circumſtances* of the blow he received, the *degree* of injury he apprehended he had ſuſtained by it, and ſuch *deſcription* as he could give of the *party* from whom he received it? Is it credible, I ſay, that ſuch enquiries and atteſtations as are ſo general *in all* caſes in which they can be made, where murder is ſuſpected, ſhould be totally neglected in this?

Mrs. Talbot, the Aunt of Mr. Clark, in whoſe houſe he reſided until his death, we may ſuppoſe * was very affectionate to him. Is it credible, that if any ſuggeſtions of murder had been made, the proper method of enquiry in conſequence of it, and legal atteſtation, would not have been inſtituted while Clark was yet living, whoſe information was ſo very important to its detection? If ſuch enquiries and atteſtations *were* made, it is ſtill *leſs credible*, that his Aunt and his family would ſuppreſs them, and thereby charge themſelves with the concealment of the guilt of his murderers.

The evidence, William Beal, indeed ſaw Clark on the Sunday before he died, and "aſked him how he did? He ſaid he wiſhed he had never been at Brentford. I ſaid, why? He ſaid, the Blow he received there he believed would be his death." *Seſſions Paper*, p. 83, *Evidence W. Beal.*——But beſides that we are not let into the previous converſation which might induce ſuch an obſervation; at the time of this diſcourſe, the Fever, the diſorder in which the *indictment affirms* he lan-

* I ſay *ſuppoſe*; becauſe we are now upon the trial, in which Mrs. Talbot took no part: but it appeared in the enquiries ſubſequent to the trial, that this good Aunt of Mr. Clark was remarkably kind to him, and tender of him.

guiſhed, had made conſiderable advances; and the wound on the head, ſlight as it was, might begin to be inflamed.—But whatever ſtreſs may be laid on this evidence, it is ſtill the evidence of a party-man; of a companion in the warfare of Brentford; of a *voter* on the ſide of Glynn, and Liberty; and though I am by no means diſpoſed to imagine the Evidence ſwore to that which was *falſe*; yet as a party-man in the proſecuting cauſe, *his* could not be equivalent to the clear, diſpaſſionate, unexceptionable, evidence, which might have been expected from the *family* of Mr. Clark; or from his immediate, unprejudiced, conſtant *attendants*, during the time of his illneſs.

The total *ſilence*, Mr. URBAN, of every perſon ſo circumſtanced ſuggeſts to me, the utmoſt *reſerve* and *caution* in admitting the *whole force* of the evidence produced in ſupport of the proſecution; becauſe I cannot but infer from that *ſilence*, that it is a proſecution, not commenced and ſuſtained, by the *injured family*, upon the *clear unbiaſſed* principles of civil juſtice; but a legal attack on the defendants, inſtigated by the virulent, *reſentful humour* of *party rage*. The juſtice demanded, I conſider as the juſtice imagined *due* to a Party, upon their own principles; and though juſtice is *due* to the *righteous demands* of the moſt inveterate party bigot when the injury he complains of is *clearly* proved, both in its *reality and extent*; yet, while it remains in the *courſe* of proof; while party vengeance is the *accuſer*,—party rhetoric the *advocate*,—and party credulity the *inſpiring ſpirit* of the evidence;—though I am far from ſaying a proſecution, even thus *diſgraced in its principles*, ſhould be abſolutely diſcredited as *groundleſs*; yet as a Jury-man, in all caſes of blood, I ſhould attend to a proſecution thus vindictive—even with a *ſuſpicious caution*; and ſhould apply the evidence thus *vitiated*, to

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the caſe before me, with great mitigation of its *aſperity*.

Very ſenſible and very honeſt men, whoſe tempers are warm and reſentful, are perpetually led aſtray from the ſtraight path of Juſtice, when they give themſelves up to the leading of the moſt deluſive of all guides, the flaming, deſultory meteor of Party Zeal. And whether they are conducted by this *falſe* light to perſecute a deteſted *hereſy* in *faith*, or to proſecute an abhorred adverſe party in *politics*, the effects of their infatuation are in both caſes alike pernicious. In the heated heads of bigots, moderation and candour are rejected as ſcepticiſm and luke-warmneſs: The Religious or Political Enthuſiaſt may report things *truly* and *conſcientiouſly*, as they are apprehended by their prejudice; but the apprehenſion *itſelf* being corrupted, they are, through the blind leading of their zeal, incautiouſly betrayed into the moſt injurious, and irretrievable miſtakes, while they *truly* report what they *falſely* conceive.

Hiſtory abounds with ſuch examples; and Obſervation, were it to regiſter, might itſelf afford materials for a volume out of every *diſcerning* man's perſonal reflection.

The next thing I ſhall conſider, Mr. URBAN, is the indictment. The indictment I apprehend to be a clear, diſtinct, literal, averment of the crime imputed to the Priſoners. The charge *plainly* and *preciſely* expreſſed in the indictment, I conſider as comprehending the *entire* ſubject of the Jury's inquiſition. If the Facts averred in the indictment are clearly aſcertained by competent, diſintereſted, *diſpaſſionate* evidence, the guilt of the Priſoners is to be declared. If the charge is not proved, in the full import of its *plain* and *obvious* conſtruction, to the conſcientious ſatisfaction of the Jury, the Priſoners are to be acquitted.

For

For I cannot but obſerve, that on all trials, in which the life or death of the priſoner muſt be determined by the verdict, even the *form* of the indictment, exhibiting a direct averment of the crime in all its malignity, ſuggeſts to the candour of the Jury, that if the charge is not clearly and fully proved;—if any ambiguity,—any inveterate prejudice,—any *colluſion* appears in the evidence;—or, where the evidence is fairly and candidly given, if the proof is not ſufficient to authenticate the whole charge, in its full criminality;—if any doubt remains with the Jury in either of theſe caſes, it becomes their duty, in this ſuſpence, to acquit the priſoner. No middle term is allowed; and as the charge in the indictment is *preciſely* defined, and *peremptorily* averred; if the evidence, in the conſcience of the Jurymen, fails to eſtabliſh the charge with the ſame *deciſive preciſion* with which it is *averred*; juſtice, by the terms of the indictment, as well as mercy, which abhors to aſſign *ſuppoſititious* guilt to *certain* miſery, both concur to enjoin an acquittal.

And, Mr. URBAN, as no *ambiguity*, *no chicane*, *no colluſion*, can conſcientiouſly be admitted by the Jury, in the evidence; ſo it alſo becomes *eſſentially neceſſary to the ſafety of Engliſh Liberty*, and the integrity of Engliſh Juries, that the *charge* in the indictment, whoſe validity or invalidity they are to determine, is entirely and abſolutely *free* from all *ambiguity*, *chicane*, or *equivocation*, whatever.

If the leaſt *corruption of language*, from any of thoſe ſources, is admitted in the indictment, the plain, unlettered Jurymen, unpractiſed in logical *implications*, and ſcholaſtic *refinements*, may be led to decide they know not what;—ſeduced to declare condemnation or acquittal, they know not wherefore; and thus take a *bare chance* for doing juſtice, inſtead of acquiring the noble teſtimony of

their

their own conſciences, That in giving their verdict *they ſaw* and *regarded* the relation their deciſion bore to the great principles of *moral truth.*

The preſerving the utmoſt *ſimplicity* in the *form* of the indictment; the admitting *no terms* eſſential to the charge, but in their *plain, popular, literal, acceptation*;—the *preciſion* with which the charge is alledged;—and the acknowledged criminality of the fact, advanced againſt the priſoners; together conſtitute, I think, the true eſſence of an indictment in all capital caſes. Thus conſtituted, the truth or falſehood of it becomes an object of enquiry, not inadequate to the common capacities of Engliſh Juries.

The important merit of the Jury conſtitution conſiſts *in this:* That the truth or falſehood of a charge which affects the *character*, the *property*, or the *life* of a fellow-ſubject, is to be judged of, and determined by men diſintereſted and *diſpaſſionate* to the cauſe before them;—by men of *plain, unſophiſticated*, ſenſe;—in whoſe minds the *ſimple obvious* principles of *natural equity* may reaſonably be relied on to induce a deciſion conſcientiouſly conformable to moral truth.

If to acquire ſuch a deciſion the pureſt ſimplicity of language, as well in the *charge* averred againſt the priſoner, as in the evidence by which its validity is to be eſtabliſhed, becomes eſſentially neceſſary; it then follows, that every practice which *corrupts*, *deludes*, or *confounds*, this ſimplicity, is eſſentially *wrong*; and ſo far as it operates, is ſubverſive of the Jury conſtitution:—And therefore, to preſerve the integrity of that conſtitution (in which integrity *alone* its merit conſiſts)—*artifice* of all kinds,—*ambiguity*, *equivocation*, *chicane*, *colluſion*, *caſuiſtical inferences*, *evaſive comments*, and *arbitrary aſſumptions*, muſt be altogether exploded from the *form* of the indictment,—the *teſtimony* of the

the evidence—the *pleadings* of the Counſel—and the *ſummary* of the cauſe delivered from the Bench.

It is not barely the *form* and the *denomination* of trial by Jury, but the important right of that mode of trial preſerved in the *ſimplicity* and *purity* of adjudication, which conſtitutes the peculiar privilege of Britiſh ſubjects. Becauſe in this *integrity of its might*, it advances a protection of their character—of their property—of their lives—both in *right*, and in *effect*, far above the ſecurity of *legal defence* allowed under any other civil conſtitution.

It is not then merely the *Jury right*, but the *uncorrupted purity* in which that right is adminiſtered, which is ſo fundamentally important to the freedom of the Britiſh conſtitution. And whether the purity of adjudication is *oppreſſed* by men in power, or *corrupted* by men in faction,—the entanglement of Liberty and the perverſion of Juſtice are the equal conſequences; and the force of either power is equally fatal to all cauſes, which fall under their malignant influence.

Every *ſingle* man, Mr. URBAN, acknowledges the general truth of this doctrine, though all *parties* of men are but too ready to avail themſelves of artifice or power to elude its judicial efficacy.

We ſhall, Mr. URBAN, *undoubtedly* find in the Trial of the Iriſh Chairmen, the moſt *tender*—the moſt *conſtitutional* regard to the *ſimple integrity* of Jury conviction, becauſe the proſecutors in that *righteous* cauſe were the avowed patrons of Engliſh Liberty in general, and of *Jury deciſions* in particular.

By the Indictment, the two Chairmen, Balfe and M'Quirk, are charged—that "*they*, together with a certain other perſon, *to the Jurors as yet unknown*, felonioufly, wilfully, and of their malice afore-thought, did *make* an aſſault, and the ſaid perſon, *to the Jurors as yet unknown*, with a certain

certain ſtick,—which the ſaid perſon in his right hand then and there held, the ſaid George Clark in and upon the upper part of the head of him the ſaid George Clark, then and there feloniouſly did ſtrike; giving the ſaid George Clark, &c. one Mortal Wound, &c. and that the ſaid Laurence Balfe and Edward M'Quirk, feloniouſly, wilfully, and of their *malice aforethought*, were *preſent*, *aiding*, *abetting*, *helping*, *comforting*, *aſſiſting*, *and maintaining* the ſaid perſon, to the Jurors as yet unknown, the felony and murder aforeſaid, in *manner* and *form* aforeſaid, to *do* and commit," &c. *Seſſions-paper*, p. 66, 67.

If the terms of accuſation in this indictment have *meanings*, *intentions*, and *applications*, out of and beyond their *common* and *popular acceptation*, the cauſe is then at once withdrawn by *chicane* out of, and beyond the conception of the Jurymen. The cauſe thus involved in a cloud of caſuiſtry from their cognizance and detection, they become at once *incompetent* to the moral duty of Jurymen, by their incapacity of comprehending diſtinctly, what it is they are to try; becauſe when once *common* and familiar terms are applied out of their *common* and *familiar ſenſe*, they maybe ſuborn'd to affirm either any thing or nothing, as it may beſt advance the purpoſe of their corruption.

But if the terms of this accuſation are to be underſtood in their *plain*, *obvious*, *literal* ſenſe, it is then aſſerted, "That a certain man, *to the Jurors as yet unknown*, wilfully and of his malice afore-thought, made an aſſault upon Mr. Clark, and gave him a violent blow upon his head, which proved to be a mortal wound; and that *Balfe* and *M'Quirk wilfully*, and of their *malice afore-thought*, were *preſent* at this murtherous aſſault on Mr. Clark; and were *aiding*, *helping*,

abetting, comforting, aſſiſting, and maintaining, the ſaid unknown perſon, in committing the ſaid murder."

The affirmation, in its plain and obvious meaning, amounts to this charge, and no more; and the priſoners are charged by it, with having been preſent, aiding, helping, &c. the unknown murderer; but it charges them no further. If it appears manifeſtly by the evidence, that the priſoners were *really* and *truly perſonally preſent* with the aſſailant on Mr. Clark—if it further appears that the priſoners were *really* and *truly*, by their *immediate, proper, voluntary act*, aiding, helping, &c. the unknown murderer,—their crime may be ſo circumſtanced, as to involve them in an equal degree both of moral guilt and legal criminality with the murderer himſelf.

But if their merely being *preſent* on the ſpot where the murdering blow was given;—their *ſeeing* and being *ſeen* by the murderer;—their being *notoriouſly* of the *ſame party* with him;—may, by a remote inference, be interpreted into comforting, maintaining, and aſſiſting, the murderer, though they were *totally paſſive*, and took *no part* in his deadly outrage;—whatever *criminality* may *legally* be thus imputed to them, they will certainly remain conſcientiouſly clear of every degree of *moral guilt*. Yet even this degree of implied crime could not be proved in the preſent caſe.

A man who knowing *B*, had conceived an implacable hatred to *C*; ſhould inform him, that his hated adverſary might without *danger* be aſſaulted at ſuch a time, in ſuch a place and manner;—who ſhould *exaſperate* the paſſions of *B*, by repeating and aggravating the injuries *B* apprehended he had received;—who ſhould lend

him

him his ſword or piſtol,—and in the end, ſhould ſtand within ſight and hearing while *B* perpetrated the murder with the weapon he had lent him;—this man, thus acceſſary, though the *law* can in this caſe allow *no* criminality to exceed that of the principal, muſt neceſſarily be conſidered, *in foro conſcientiæ*, as vaſtly *more guilty* than the *incenſed precipitate* Murderer himſelf.

On the other hand, Let us ſuppoſe *D* to come by *chance* to the ſpot where *E*, his *friend*, or *relation*, is laying in wait, *unknown to D*, to perpetrate a murder, which he actually does commit, in his preſence, by the ſudden diſcharge of a *concealed* piſtol.—This man *D*, taken upon the *ſpot* with the murderer, might alſo, in a very *remote caſuiſtical* ſenſe, be conſidered and even judicially *accuſed* as an acceſſary; becauſe it may be alledged, that *C* was *comforted* and *maintained* in his wicked purpoſe, by ſeeing *D*, his relation or friend, on the ſpot; by relying on his *help*, in caſe of need; and from that conſideration, deriving reſolution to execute his deſign; which reſolution might have at laſt *failed*, without this opportune preſence of *D*.

But does not every one, Mr. URBAN, perceive by a ſingle glance, the *vaſt diſparity* in the caſes of acceſſaries here ſtated? Does not every one ſee, that the *real guilt* of an acceſſary will always be in *exact proportion* to the *real*, not the *implied* aid, influence, protection, or defence, *knowingly* and *willfully* afforded by him, *perſonally* and *immediately* by his *own act*, or his *wilful concurrence*, with the murderer; and not *ſuppoſititiouſly* by the juggle of *implication?* And does not every one further perceive, who has any perception of the principles of moral truth, that where civil juſtice, and not the *vengeance of faction*, is the ſole mo-

tive of proſecution, the puniſhment *demanded* will bear a candid proportion to the *real actual* guilt, not to the *unnatural implied* criminality of the acceſſary, and will extend no further?

The diſcharge of a piſtol—the puſh of a ſword—a violent blow with a ſtaff—by any of which applications a deadly wound may be given—are all of them ſimple uncompounded acts; and when the fact is aſcertained, that the accuſed party gave a mortal wound by either, all that remains for the jury's further inquiſition, is, Whether the wound was given by *chance*;—in the party's own *defence*;—by the *ſudden* burſt of overbearing anger;—or through *fixed* and premeditated *malice*.

But the caſe of an Acceſſary is widely and eſſentially different from that of a Principal. As the former may be more or leſs inſtrumental to the murder, by an almoſt endleſs *variety of means*; the part juſtly aſſignable to him, in producing the fatal event, may differ, in its criminality, in an endleſs *variety of degrees*.

Between the *two* extremes, as I have ſtated them above, how amazingly great is the number of obviouſly ſuppoſeable caſes, in which *ſome* degree, high or low, of acceſſary imputation may be laid! Between the *higheſt* poſſible degree of acceſſary guilt, *in foro conſcientiæ*, and the *loweſt* and *moſt remote* imputation by which a man may *legally* be accuſed, as an acceſſary in murder, how wide is the diſtance! how inexpreſſibly various the circumſtances which may ariſe! how inexpreſſibly multiplied, the degrees of guilt *juſtly* aſſignable to each ſeparate caſe!

I know it is ſaid, the Law conſiders *all* Acceſſaries in murder, as principals.—If it is meant that it puniſhes *all* alike, it is true in fact, that it does

does ſo. And in all caſes where the *actual wilful* concurrence of the acceſſary is ſo immediately *neceſſary*, as that without ſuch *concurrence* it is not probable the murder would have been perpetrated; —if it alſo appears the acceſſary *knew* to how *fatal* an effect his concurrence tended;—in all ſuch caſes clearly authenticated, I think the acceſſary is in *foro conſcientiæ*, as well as in Law, *equally* guilty with the principal.

All *ſeconds in Duels*, where the death of one of the Principals enſues, are very *clearly* involved in this degree of moral guilt, however it may happen, that they almoſt always *elude* the proſecution of that guilt, as a crime cognizable by the law.

I muſt, Mr. URBAN, repeat my former declaration, That I make no pretenſion, not even the loweſt, to any knowledge in the Law; but as a man, anxious to diſcharge the duties of his ſtation, perſonal and official, with integrity and candour, I examine what *ought* to be admitted as evidence adequate to the genuine proof of the accuſation in ſuch caſes in *general* in order to form and regulate my judgment in this *particular* caſe of the Chairmen, which, in the character of a juryman, I ſuppoſe to be now before me.

The Indictment charging BALFE and M'QUIRK not as *Principals*, but as *Acceſſaries* to the Murder of Mr. Clark;—the Principal himſelf, or the authentic narrative of the part he acted in producing the tragical event, becomes not only the *firſt object* in the order of enquiry, but the firſt alſo in its *neceſſary importance*, juſtly to determine the guilt or the acquittal of the acceſſaries.

Becauſe if the words of the indictment have *any* meaning at all, the aiding, aſſiſting, abetting, &c. diſtinctly averred by them, *neceſſarily aſſert* that *ſome one* was aided, abetted, aſſiſted, &c.

And

And as it is manifeſtly evident, that in *foro conſcientiæ* the *real guilt* of the acceſſaries muſt be in *proportion* to the ſhare they *wilfully* and *perſonally* had in producing the fatal event; it muſt *unavoidably* happen, either that the Jury, in defiance of the obligation of their oath, muſt give their verdict at random, they know not why or wherefore;—or elſe,—that the *principal* in the murder, and the *part he* acted, muſt be produced in evidence to the Jury; becauſe, as the Indictment they are to try avers the crime of the priſoners to be aiding, aſſiſting, abetting, &c. the principal in the murder; it is to this *averred principal*, and to *him alone*, that this aiding, aſſiſting, &c. by which the priſoners became *acceſſary* to his crime, have relation; and the *real guilt* of the priſoners cannot be ſo much as *plauſibly conjectured*, unleſs it appears to the Jury in the courſe of the evidence—*how far*—in *what degree*—in *what reſpect* and manner the accuſed parties were *really and truly*, maliciouſly and wilfully, conducive to the imputed Murder.

And as the degree of guilt in the acceſſary is to be determined by the proportion his aid, aſſiſtance, &c. bore to the accompliſhment of the Murder, and he is *truly guilty* in *that* proportion, and no other; ſo it is *impoſſible*, that he as acceſſary can have *any* agency but in a *ſcene* which alſo exhibits a *principal*.

If there is no principal *evidenced* to exiſt, (i. e. whoſe *identity* and *agency* at the averred time and place are *given in evidence* to the Jury) it is not *poſſible*, in the *nature of things*, if words have any *determinate* meaning, that there *can be* any acceſſary. For if it does not appear that *ſome one man*, called in the indictment the Principal, was aided, abetted, &c. it neither *does* nor *can* appear that

any

any actual aid, aſſiſtance, &c. was *given*; and therefore the accuſed acceſſaries muſt either be convicted of *doing that* which never *was done*, or elſe acquitted of the indictment.

And this, Mr. URBAN, appears to me, in the character of a Juryman, *ſo true* a repreſentation of the caſe in queſtion, and ſo *juſt* an inſtruction to the conſcientious diſcharge of my duty, that unleſs there had been a principal either *produced* in court on the trial, or at leaſt identically *averred* by the evidence; by the relation to which principal, and his actions, the aid, aſſiſtance, &c. of the accuſed acceſſaries might be eſtimated; I would ſooner have died a martyr to *truth* and *common ſenſe*, than I would have concurred in the *legal ſlaughter* of two men, merely becauſe they were included in a *fictitious charge* of non-exiſtent acceſſaries.

I know, Mr. URBAN, it will be ſaid, the indictment avers the crime of the Priſoners to be aiding, abetting, &c. a perſon as yet *unknown* to the jurors, and that it is far from being unuſual to form indictments to the like effect; — and it may, for aught I know, be uſual ſo to form them; but then, though the *principal* in ſuch indictments may be properly ſaid to *be unknown* to the jurors, i. e. his name, perſon, condition, and place of abode, may be ſo totally *unknown*, as to render it impracticable to *produce* and *arraign* him in court; yet this principal, unknown to the indictment, may appear in the *courſe* of the trial to have been *ſo far known* to one or more of the *Witneſſes*, as clearly to impreſs a general Idea of his *identity*. For though I do preſume, as a juryman, abſolutely to deny that the guilt of acceſſaries, as acceſſaries, can ever be aſcertained *preciſely* and *juſtly*, unleſs the identity of the Principal, to

whoſe

whoſe act they were acceſſaries, is affirmed in evidence; yet I do agree, that the moſt *general idea* of his perſonality *clearly* conceived, and *diſtinctly* affirmed, will be ſufficient to eſtabliſh his *identity* as the principal.

For example, if it had appeared on the trial, that *one* or more witneſſes ſaw a perſon, whom they diſtinguiſhed to be a *ſhort* man, having his *own hair*, a *brown coat*, *laced hat*, &c. or any other circumſtance of dreſs, or perſon, by which to *fix* the moſt general *diſtinction* of *identity*;—if, I ſay, they had *ſeen* ſuch a man ſtrike Mr. Clark the ſuppoſed mortal blow on the head, and then mix with the crowd, ſo as to be loſt or concealed among them,—a Principal, in this caſe, might have been affirmed and manifeſted to the Court, though it might for ever have remained *unknown who* he was, or *where* to find him. Becauſe, by the identity of the Principal, even thus looſely aſcertained, not only the *actual preſence* of the accuſed acceſſaries in time and place with the principal, might have been proved; but a *juſt* eſtimate might alſo have been made of the *great* or *little* efficacy of their aid, &c. in accompliſhing the event; and of courſe the way opened to the JUST deciſion on the enormity or moderation of their guilt.

But this is not all; for beſides the capacity of determining, after the Principal was thus exhibited, in *what* ſenſe, and to *what* effect, the Priſoners were preſent to this felonious act in *time* and *place*;—beſides a capacity of aſcertaining the mode and degree of aid, ſupport, &c. *actually* and *literally* contributed by the acceſſaries;—it might alſo have been *enquired* into, and *made known*, whether the Principal by his *Cockade*—by the *tune* of his *huzza*—or by any other *indication*, did,

did, or did not, appear to be of the ſame *party* with the accuſed acceſſaries;—whether Clark did or did not ſtrike the Principal firſt;—whether he did, or did not, give him any other provocation;—whether the blow might not have been *aimed* at another, and ſo fall upon Clark by *chance*; together with many other enquiries very neceſſary to have been reſolved.

Inſtead of this courſe of inveſtigation, ſo equitable and ſo proper, we diſcover in the trial of the Chairmen an abſolute *nullity* of pertinent enquiry, an abſolute *impoſſibility* of ſatisfactory information, and of courſe an abſolute impoſſibility of *conviction*, according to the *plain*, *obvious*, *moral* conſtruction of the charge in the indictment, becauſe the identity and agency of the principal was not affirmed by any witneſs.

Whether or no it ever happened before, that the guilt of acceſſaries was admitted to be proved on a trial in which there was *no evidence* given of the identity of the principal, I am not able to ſay. Juſtice to the accuſed acceſſaries, ſeems to make the proof of ſuch identity *indiſpenſably* neceſſary.

I muſt again repeat, that I do not in the leaſt pretend to judge of the *ſtrict legality* of the verdict againſt theſe men; for the *ſtrict legality* of the ſentence is not brought by me into *queſtion*; my only deſign, in this examination, is to determine upon rational and moral principles, whether there was ſuch a *conviction* of the priſoners perſonal, conſcious, actual guilt of aiding, abetting, &c. in murder, as to render them unworthy of the pardon they received.

Yet, if I am rightly informed, the common law goes ſtill *further* than I have done, and that very juſtly, in *ſecuring* the *right* of the acceſſary.

"For the acceſſary ought not, by the common law, to be *forced* to anſwer, before the *principal* is *attainted* or *convicted*; yet, if the acceſſary *will*, he may pray proceſs againſt the inqueſt *before* the principal is attainted, for every man may renounce the *right which the law allows*.—If the principal, upon his arraignment, confeſſes the felony, and before judgment obtains pardon, the acceſſary is thereby diſcharged, *becauſe the principal was never attainted*." *Wood's Inſtitutes, edition* 1728, *p.* 387.

If this repreſentation is right, how deciſive is the authority of the Common Law in favour of the preceding argument?

Yet, Mr. URBAN, all this, notwithſtanding there is not in the trial *one word of evidence*, or *pretence* to evidence, tending to affirm a Principal, by aſcertaining the *identity* of the perſon who gave Clark the blow; ſo that *no* Principal is *affirmed*, or in the moſt diſtant manner *ſuggeſted* by *vivâ voce* evidence; nor did ſuch a one ever exiſt within the cognizance of the court. All that was ſaid by the *witneſſes* in the *leaſt* relating to the *perſon* who gave the blow, I ſhall now tranſcribe from the Seſſions Paper. Richard Beale depoſes, "I aſked Clark if he knew who ſtruck him? He ſaid it was ſome *great Fellow*, but *who* he did not know." P. 82, Col. 1ſt.—Again,—*Counſel to William Beal.* "Did you aſk him (Clark) if he knew the perſon that gave him the Blow?—*W. Beal.* I did—He ſaid it was a *Ruffian* or *great Fellow* that gave him the blow, but he did not know the man." P. 83. And this, Mr. URBAN, is *all* that occurs in the trial, relating to the perſon who ſtruck Mr. Clark.

But this relation conduces nothing to fixing the idea of a Principal. For beſides that the deſcription

tion, "*Ruffian*, or *great Fellow*," as it agrees to ſo many, identifies no one—there neither was nor could be any *vivâ voce* evidence, even as to this *general indeterminate deſcription*; Mr. Clark, who gave it to the Beales, being out of a poſſibility of examining as to what *relation* the *Ruffian*, or *great Fellow*, had to the accuſed acceſſaries.

And, Mr. URBAN, as the hiſtory of this famous trial, recorded in the Seſſions Paper, is abſolutely *devoid of evidence* as to the identity of the Principal, it is alſo abſolutely *devoid of evidence* in ſupport of the charge againſt Balfe and M'Quirk, in its *literal*, *obvious*, *moral* conſtruction.

For there is not to be found in the Seſſions-paper, as I may juſtly affirm, after repeated peruſals, *One word* of *evidence*, reſpecting the identity of the Principal.

Not *a word* of *evidence*, or of *pretence* to *evidence*, to prove that either Balfe or M'Quirk ever *ſtruck* Mr. Clark; or ever *ſaw*, or ever were *near him*, in their lives.

Not *one word* of *evidence*, or of *pretence* to *evidence*, that *either* of the priſoners ever *ſaw*, ever were *near* (otherwiſe than in a general indiſcriminate *ſenſe*, all perſons may be ſaid to be *near any one* in the ſame mob) ever were *connected with*, or ever *knew*, the perſon who gave Mr. Clark the blow.

Nor yet any *evidence*, or *any pretence to evidence*, or the *moſt diſtant ſuggeſtion of evidence*, that the *perſon* who ſtruck Mr. Clark, was of *Sir William Beauchamp's party*.

It does not even appear, in the trial, that any *one witneſs* whoſe depoſition relates to *Mr. Clark*, and what happened to *him*, *ever ſaw* Balfe or

M'Quirk; nor is there a *ſingle word* mentioned of *either* by any ſuch witneſs.

On the other hand, there is not a *ſingle word* or *ſuggeſtion* relating perſonally to Mr. Clark, given in evidence by any *one* of *thoſe* who appear as witneſſes againſt Balfe and M'Quirk; ſo that the *perſonal actual* conduct of thoſe men *neceſſarily* remained, and could not *but remain* after the whole evidence *was given*, *perfectly unconnected* with Mr. Clark and his misfortune.

Theſe aſſertions may ſeem *incredible* to the crowd of prepoſſeſſed implicit believers in patriot veracity: they are nevertheleſs *ſtrictly true*; and I do in *this public manner call upon the advocates of the Faction* to point out *a ſingle word* or *ſuggeſtion* of evidence, taken from the Seſſions-paper, in any *one of the inſtances* in which I have denied that either was given.

I forbear to call upon theſe men by their *regard to truth*, for *truth* in this inſtance they have *utterly* diſcarded; but I urge them by their *tender* regard to the continuance of their credit with their party, to confute, and ſhew to be falſe, what I have aſſerted to be true; ſince, if they cannot do this, they muſt give up the cauſe.

For myſelf, Mr. URBAN, I proteſt I mean no deceit; and to put it *beyond all doubt* that I intend none, I moſt earneſtly recommend to every Engliſhman, the reading over with attention and impartiality this trial in the Seſſions-paper, and then let him judge of *its horrors* for himſelf. And this earneſt recommendation of the peruſal of the Trial in the Seſſions-paper, is the moſt direct proof which can be produced, That I have no *intention* to miſrepreſent the Evidence, or to pervert its meaning; ſince, with ſuch intentions, I ſhould not ſo repeatedly urge the reader to the peruſal

perusal of a printed paper, which would confute me; which is already so public, as easily to be come at; and which may be in any man's possession for a single shilling. I may mistake, but I cannot design to misrepresent. If any thing *could* recover my Countrymen from that *delirium* in which the *pardon* of Balfe and Mac Quirk has so long been *execrated as a grievance*, the relation of their trial, as it stands in the Sessions-paper, would be abundantly sufficient.

If in the obvious plain meaning of the charge, the presence, agency, or assistance, of the Prisoners, when the blow was given, was *never* affirmed by any evidence whatever; it may now be demanded—What evidence *was* given in support of their pretended guilt? We shall see *that* as we proceed; but I have not yet finished my observations on *this* part of the subject.

I have said, Mr. URBAN, that in the instance before us the Faction had entirely discarded truth; and of this charge I now proceed to convict them.

The assertion, that a slight broken head was a manifest mortal wound, in spite of probability, common observation, and common sense,—they got readily credited by the multitude of true believers; who stood, hungry and gaping for a grievance, till the pardon of this *mortal broken head* should be cooked up, and seasoned to their palate.

But that men should be guilty of *breaking a head*, merely by implication;—that by a certain operation of the *black Art* called Construction of Law, men should be *convicted* of *acting* in places in which they were not *present*, and be guilty of *breaking a head* that was never *proved* to be within their *sight*, nor within their *reach*, nor within their *power*;—not effected by their *order* or wilful *concurrence*

currence—not by their *intention* or *deſign*—not with their *knowledge*, either *before* or *after* the fact;—but that a *ſuppoſititious* ſtick, in the *imaginary* hand of a *chimerical* accomplice, who never, as an accomplice, had exiſtence but as a *Phantom*; ſhould do the feat for which the priſoners were to ſuffer; was a kind of *head-breaking guiltineſs*, much too abſtracted and metaphyſical to be apprehended even by thoſe who were ready enough to believe every thing that was told them by their leaders, however *falſe* or *improbable*, provided it was but barely *conceivable*.

Wherefore the ſaid leaders, to obviate the obſtruction to credit, ariſing from the *inconceivable perpetration* of *this broken-headed murder*; and to make it plain and eaſy to vulgar capacities; gave them a *falſehood* to ſwallow that would ſmoothly *paſs*, rather than a *myſtery* which might probably *ſtick*; and ſo, in *direct denial* of evidence, they ſuffered their dupes to believe that Balfe and Mac Quirk *actually—in perſon—with their own hands*, gave Mr. Clark the blow on his head. Which repreſentation, after they had *determined* that the ſaid blow gave a mortal wound, proved the murder upon theſe men, as plain as a pike-ſtaff.

I ſay, Mr. URBAN, that the leaders of the party *ſuffered* this opinion to prevail uncontradicted. By ſaying that they only *ſuffered* it, I moderate their crime even more than I ought. For when as benevolent and as amiable a Prince as ever ſat on the Britiſh throne, was to be inſulted and attacked in his Palace, avowedly on account of this *imaginary* murder;—Truth could not poſſibly be of their party;—but a *Lye*—this *Lye*,—"That Balfe or M'Quirk ſtruck and wounded Mr. Clark," *diſtinctly painted* on that hearſe which they would have forced even into the court of the palace—became a very pro-

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per, well choſen conductor of ſuch a crew, on ſuch an errand.

This *falſehood*, That Balfe or M'Quirk gave the Blow, could not by any means have been *affirmed* more diſtinctly, or propagated more generally, than by this inflammatory *patrolling picture*. Yet it may be ſaid, Mr. URBAN, this was but a trick to catch the mob, and to impoſe on their eaſy credulity. And how very upright and patriotic is the purpoſe of impoſing on eaſy credulity! But it is a misfortune, much to be regretted, that in theſe days of Factious Dogmatiſm, eaſy credulity is the foible of too many, in every poſſible reſpect, much above the mob. And, in proof of this remark, I ſhall point out a ſet of men, eminent for their learning, — for the clearneſs and accuracy of their diſcernment and for the acuteneſs of their remarks; —whoſe *buſineſs* it is to be wary—whoſe *duty* it is to be candid—whoſe *profeſſion* it is to be impartial—whoſe *glory* it is to be benevolent and humane—yet fairly duped, by incautiouſly adopting this *cruel malignant* falſehood, and by giving it authenticity in publiſhing it as a truth.

The Gentlemen I here point out are the *Monthly Reviewers*.

As this Letter, Mr. URBAN, though it is immediately directed to you, will infallibly come under their inſpection, I take leave to addreſs them in it, through your hands.

"Gentlemen! The MONTHLY REVIEWERS!

"YOUR good ſenſe will immediately diſcover in this application, that far from intending to attack, or reproach you as an adverſary, I only mean to expoſtulate with you as a friend —And, without the leaſt knowledge of any one of you, by name or by perſon; a friend I truly am to your under-

undertaking; becauſe I think it both in deſign and execution, highly uſeful, inſtructive, and entertaining. Should I proceed in this ſtrain, which I could do, very ſincerely, to a conſiderable length, it might be reckoned a *bribe* to your cenſorial *power*, rather than a *tribute* to your general *merit*; even though I cloſed it with this frank and honeſt profeſſion, That if I believed you weak enough, by the flattery of a ſtranger, to be *ſoothed*; I ſhould at the ſame time think you, as Cenſors, much too contemptible to be *feared*.

" But to the point.—In your *Review* for *April* laſt, 1769 p. 349. you take into conſideration, *Mr. Foot's Appeal to the Public*—*The Counter Appeal*, in anſwer to it—and Mr. *Dale Ingram*'s pamphlet intitled *The Blow*.

" In Reviewing the firſt of theſe you write:—'Balfe and M'Quirk were *convicted* on the evidence of *ſeveral* witneſſes, beſides our Author, (Foot) who examined the body!' How dull muſt I have been, who in reading the Trial ſo often, inſtead of the *ſeveral convicting* Witneſſes *you* have diſcovered, can find *no convicting Witneſs at all*, of the *guilt you* aſcribe to them! As you have ſuch ſtore of theſe convicting Witneſſes in reſerve, it will be eaſy to puniſh my dulneſs, with perpetual dumbneſs, by producing their convicting evidence, to my utter confuſion.

" The extract from the next Article, (*The Counter Appeal*) is given with your uſual candour. See p. 350.—In truth, poor Mr. F——, as a politician, entirely deſtroyed his credit, in *this caſe*, as a Surgeon. Becauſe as he diſcovered in his Politics the dulleſt docility of faith, in all the gibberiſh of his party; *he himſelf* proved *againſt* himſelf, the charge advanced by his *oppoſers*,—That the ſtrength and inveteracy of his prejudices

dices rendered him incompetent to a candid judgment, in the caſe of Mr. Clark.

" You conclude, Gentlemen, your examination of Mr. *Ingram's* pamphlet with ſaying,—' On the whole, there is no doubt of the *poſſibility* of the man's *Recovery* from the effects of the Blow, had he taken due care of himſelf, and applied in time to a Surgeon.' But who ſhould have been the Surgeon, to have undertaken ſo deſperate a caſe! in which there was but a *poſſibility* of *recovery*, is not eaſy to conceive.—Mr. F——, to be ſure, diſplayed a pretty hand upon a dead head; becauſe " being dead it yet ſpeaketh" diſtinctly through his fingers, good, wholeſome, patriotic vengeance; but whether he might have been as ſucceſsful in *repelling* Death and keeping him *out*, as he proved in *detecting* the way by which he got *in*, muſt remain a doubt.

" Mr. Clark's good *aunt*, however, might eaſily perhaps have accompliſhed the *cure*, with a common plaiſter, or the Friar's Balſam; if the fever had not intervened.

" For of this broken head, which *you*, Gentlemen, have the *goodneſs* to admit, was at firſt in a *poſſibility* of obtaining a cure, it is to be noted, —That the blow, which gave it, was not ſufficient to knock Mr. Clark down. *Seſſ. pa.* p. 81. —*Evid. R. Beal.*—So *ſlight* was it, that Clark did not know his head was broken, until ſome Blood running from his head, diſcovered it.—P. 82.—*Evid. R. Beal.*—So *ſlight*, it did not hinder him from walking *twelve miles* the *ſame* day, after having received it.—*Seſſ. pa.* p. 82. *Blow*, 22.—So *ſlight*, it did not prevent his going the *ſame* evening, with his companions, to a Tavern at Marybone, after his return to London.—*Seſſions-paper*, p. 82.—So ſlight, that he went the next day, and

again the day after, from Welbeck-ſtreet to his maſter in Lincoln's-Inn fields, attending his buſineſs. *Blow*, p. 28.—So ſlight, that his near neighbour and companion in the battle at Brentford, did not think it neceſſary, as it ſeems, *once to viſit him*; for he (*R. Beal*) ſays himſelf, he never ſaw Clark, after the day he received the Blow, till he ſaw him dead. *Seſſions-paper*, p. 82. *Blow*, p. 31. Is this conduct natural?—Is it credible, if R. Beal had believed the Blow to be any thing more than a common broken head?—So *ſlight* was it, that Clark *himſelf* told his *Aunt*, — told his *Maſter*, — and *others*, repeatedly, that it was but a *ſcratch* not *longer* than the *ſcratch* of a *pin*.—*Blow*, p. 42.—I forbear to inſiſt in this detail on the opinion given on the effects of this blow, by a Committee which conſiſted of as eminent ſurgeons as any age or country has produced, becauſe the Public is fully apprized of their deciſion.

"I ſhall conclude this detail of particulars, *fully* atteſting the *ſlightneſs* of the wound, in the words of Mr. Ingram: 'In regard to this wound on the head, ſo much talked of, in all public places, permit me to ſay, it was looked on as *no more* than a *ſmall common broken head*; and *as ſuch* his kind Aunt once or twice dreſt it with Friar's balſam; and ſince his death, has *declared* that the wound was not worſe, or *larger* than the ſcratch of a pin. This is confirmed by Mrs. H—r—y; and every one of the neighbours; as well as by every one who *frequented* the houſe,' (Mrs. Talbot, the worthy Aunt of Mr. Clark, with whom he lived, kept a public-houſe near Cavendiſh Square) 'as well as Meſſrs. Beals' (the two witneſſes in ſupport of the proſecution.) *Blow*, p. 30.

ſhall

" I ſhall now collect from theſe particulars, ſuch *facts only*, as are atteſted by the witneſſes in *behalf* of the proſecution; together with ſuch *only* as are affirmed, and cannot be conteſted, on the *other ſide*; and then leave it to the deciſion of every candid, diſpaſſionate Reader, whether theſe *inconteſtable facts* induce an opinion, that the wound was *deſperate and mortal*, as thoſe on one ſide pretend; or *ſlight and inconſiderable*, as is pretended on the other.

" Mr. Clark was not knocked down by the blow;—nor ſenſible his head was broke, till the appearance of blood diſcovered it.—He walked near twelve miles, to London, after receiving it;—and after ſo long a walk, though in the winter, he went the ſame night, in company, to a tavern at Marybone, where he ſtaid late.—His companion, all the day of the election, and at the tavern at Marybone, R. Beal (who was alſo, as appears from Mr. Ingram, his near neighbour) more than once, in that day, *ſaw the wound*; yet did not viſit Clark *the next*, or the *following days*; and never ſaw him, after the Election night, till after his death.—The above facts are atteſted by the two Beals, in their evidence in ſupport of the proſecution.—Clark's good Aunt, Mrs. Talbot, thought a *common application* of Friar's Balſam would be *ſufficient* for the cure.—He went the *next* day, and again the day *after*, to his Maſter's in Lincoln's Inn-fields, about his proper buſineſs:—And, to conclude with that circumſtance, which ſeems *fully to authenticate* all that has been ſaid of the *ſlightneſs* of the wound, not a *ſingle* perſon of Mr. Clark's *family* appeared in ſupport of the proſecution.

" Let every candid, impartial reader determine, whether *theſe inconteſtable facts* agree beſt

to a deſperate mortal wound, or a ſlight broken head.

" Yet this, Gentlemen, is the *wound*, of which you ſay, ' there is no reaſon to doubt of the *poſſibility* of the man's *recovery* from the effects of the blow, if he had taken care of himſelf, and applied in time to a Surgeon.'

" There are, in Mr. Ingram's pamphlet, many facts related, and ſeveral plain Chirurgical remarks introduced, well deſerving the attention of the Public.—Yet, without making extracts of ſuch facts, or even recommending them, in general terms, to the conſideration of the Public; you content yourſelves with repreſenting it as Mr. Ingram's *opinion*, that Mr. Clark died of an inflammatory fever; not recollecting, I preſume, that the *many* remarkable *facts* related by Mr. Ingram, and his immediate obſervations upon them, are of much *more* importance towards convincing the Public that the wound *was not* the cauſe of Mr. Clark's death, than the *bare opinion* of Mr. Ingram, however well founded, that the fever *was*.—This article, Gentlemen, will never be produced as the *ſtrongeſt* inſtance of your candour in Reviewing.

" As the blow on Mr. Clark's head was introduced to my inſpection by your ſuggeſting, that there ſeemed to be little more than a *poſſibility* of its cure; I have been induced to ſay, in this place, all that has occurred to me upon this broken head. It is, however, treſpaſſing too much on your particular attention; as it is far from my deſire to involve you in any unneceſſary debate on this ſubject.

" For it is not any thing I have *yet* advanced, would have prevailed on me to expoſtulate with you in public; but your opinion, whatever it was, would

would have remained with you in quiet poſſeſſion, undiſturbed by me, from the *conſtant* eſteem I bear to your good ſenſe, and the *general*, but not *conſtant*, reſpect, I think due to your candour. Conſtrained by my obligations to Truth in general, and my particular duty to the honeſt cauſe of humanity I am defending, I proceed, but with reluctance, to the charge againſt you.

" In your Review of Mr. Ingram's article, you directly *affirm that the blow was given* by *Balfe* or *M'Quirk*. You even ſtop your narrative, to introduce this *manifeſt falſehood*; and for fear ſo precious a ſcrap of hiſtory ſhould be *loſt*, you *hitch it in* and *ſecure it* between brackets. Again, at the cloſe of the ſame article you write; 'Whether the Rioters, *who aſſaulted and wounded him* (Clark) were therefore' (from the poſſibility only of the man's recovery) 'proper objects of his Majeſty's mercy, is another queſtion.' *Monthly Review*, p. 350.—In this paſſage you declare, that *thoſe Rioters*, who *aſſaulted* and *wounded Mr. Clark*, were the *ſame Rioters* that obtained his Majeſty's clemency; and as *thoſe* were indiſputably no others than Balfe and M'Quirk, you therefore in this place *again affirm*, that *Balfe and M'Quirk* aſſaulted and wounded Clark.

" I am very far, Gentlemen, from ſuſpecting that you publiſhed this falſehood, *knowing* it to be falſe; I will even be anſwerable for you, that you *believed* it to be true.—It is not a failure, in point of *integrity*; but a neglect, in point of *caution*; and I cannot but add in a matter of this moment, a very *culpable neglect* with which I charge you. If you had ever ſo tranſiently looked into the Trial;—if you had even gone no further than the *Indictment*, you could not thus have erred; becauſe, if *either* of theſe men had *aſſaulted* and

wounded

wounded Clark, the aſſailant muſt have been indicted as *Principal in the Murder*; whereas they are *both* indicted, not as Principals, but as Acceſſaries; ſuch Acceſſaries as, I *hope* and *believe*, were *never* before found guilty of Murder.

"I produce this miſtake of yours as an example, that men of improved and liberal underſtandings, and benevolent hearts, may become the dupes of ſuch as have *neither*, when they *incautiouſly open their minds* to receive facts and opinions on no better authority than the *malignant rumour of a faction*. After the mortification of finding ſuch a *rumour* could impoſe even upon the *Monthly Reviewers*, and make *them* its dupes, I cannot but infer, that the generality of the People concur with you in this *very falſe* and *miſchievous* belief; though in this inſtance, *your judgments*, far from imparting any credibility to *their error*, are *themſelves* humiliated,—are diſgraced by the connection.

"I need not remind you, Gentlemen, to what extravagance of outrage the public rancour has been inſtigated, to ſerve the purpoſes of a faction, by the pretended injuſtice of the pardon to the Chairmen; but the *baſeneſs* and *villany* of that pretenſion, in their full extent, *you* cannot conceive, *the Public* cannot apprehend, while the caſe of the accuſed is ſo unjuſtly repreſented.

"The K——, who was required to confirm the legal ſentence of condemnation, and to authorize the execution of two of his ſubjects, had the cleareſt and fulleſt *right* to be ſatisfied, not only that the ſentence was in a *judicial* ſenſe *legal*, but that it was alſo in a *moral* ſenſe *juſt*. God, who has created Kings moral agents, as well as other men, requires them to account to *him* for the *conſcientious* diſcharge of their moſt important truſt,

truſt, upon the principles of Moral Truth.—No example, with us in England, can be produced from the extenſive range of their executive power, in which theſe principles bring them under ſtricter obligations than in this, of giving the confirming *fiat* to the death of their ſubjects.—Not bound in their deciſions to the *forms* or *conſtruction* of Law, nothing but a clear conſcientious conviction of the *actual, wilful, moral guilt* of the offender, can juſtify our Kings before God, in yielding ſuch offender up to death.

" I am very ready to admit, that the K—— is under very ſtrong *civil* obligations to his ſubjects, not to ſhelter from capital puniſhment ſuch offenders as are by the ſentence of the Law condemned, in all caſes where the object of that ſentence appears, from the *enormity* of the crime, and the clearneſs of the *conviction*, *morally* as well as *legally* guilty.

" The enormity of the Crime, and the clear conviction of the offender's *legal* and *moral* guilt, are the points on which the K—— is impartially to judge, and conſcientiouſly to determine.—To ſave the life of the priſoner, by interpoſing his pardon, in *all caſes* where the crime is *not* enormous in the act itſelf, or where the *legal* or *moral* proof is defective; and in all *doubtful* caſes to incline to mercy, rather than exact rigorous or uncertain juſtice; are ſo plainly duties which the K—— owes to God, that no conſideration of *policy*, no prudential *accommodation* to the *humour*, the *prejudice*, or the *reſentment* of a powerful party,—nor yet an implicit *reſpect* to deciſions merely *legal*, can diſcharge his conſcience from complying with it.

" On the other hand, the K—— owes it to that ſtrong *civil* obligation he is under to his ſubjects, to

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by which he is conſcientiouſly bound to execute juſtice, and to preſerve civil order, not to *withhold his concurrence* to the full execution of the ſentence upon an offender, *morally* as well as *legally* convicted of a crime, which for its enormity is by the Law adjudged deſerving of Death.

"A K-— of England, *then*, violates his duty to God, is unjuſt to his ſubjects, and diſgraces his dignity, by confirming a ſentence of death, which in his conſcience he believes to be morally *unjuſt*, though it may be *right* in the ſtrict conſtruction of Law.

"He violates his duty to his people—to their peace—to their ſafety—when, to pleaſe his miniſters, or for any other partial conſideration, he *ſpares* by his pardon enormous offenders, of the *full equity* of whoſe conviction he is conſcientiouſly ſatisfied.

"Let us now apply theſe general maxims to the caſe before us. I have ſaid, and I again repeat it, —not *one word* of evidence relating to Mr. Clark, and the blow he received, ever came from *any* Witneſſes who depoſed againſt Balfe and M'Quirk. —Not *one ſingle word* of evidence reſpecting Balfe and M'Quirk ever came from *any* witneſs, who gave evidence reſpecting Mr. Clark and his broken head.—But theſe two ſubjects, Balfe and Mac Quirk, and the part they acted;—Mr. Clark, and the injury he ſuffered; remain, notwithſtanding any evidence that was given, perfectly *diſtinct*, *ſeparate*, and *unconnected*,—as to the *perſonal agency* of the Priſoners with Mr. Clark.—Nor is it poſſible, from any evidence which was produced, to eſtabliſh, in a proper *moral* ſenſe, any relation of *Murderer*, or *Aſſailant*, or *Acceſſary*, in which theſe men *could* ſtand to Mr. Clark and the Blow.

So

"So remote is the caſe of the Priſoners from any proof which can render them *perſonally* and *morally* guilty, as acceſſaries —it does *not* even appear that the *perſon* who ſtruck Clark was of the *ſame party* with them.—For it doth not appear Clark had a *cockade*, or any other *badge* by which it could be diſtinguiſhed he was *inclined* to Mr. Glyn's party.—I ſay *inclined*, becauſe he was no voter, but merely a ſpectator.—It is in no degree probable that Clark ſhould *provoke* the aſſailant to commit the outrage he ſuffered, by Hallooing on either ſide; becauſe W. Beal depoſes, 'he (Clark) ſeemed to be afraid.' *Trial*, p. 83. And as no *mark* or *ſign* is ſuggeſted by which the man who gave the blow could be diſtinguiſhed;—if we conſider the general confuſion of mob and riot, which prevailed on *both ſides* at this time; it will be impoſſible to affirm, under theſe circumſtances, that the blow was given by one of *this* or *that* Party.

"And this uncertainty of the party to which the man who gave the blow belonged, removes Balfe and M'Quirk to a ſtill further diſtance from any *moral proof* of their ſuppoſed guilt as Acceſſaries. Becauſe, as *before* they were preſumed to be accomplices with they knew *not whom*, in doing they knew *not what*; they might, under theſe further circumſtances of uncertainty, very probably be *acceſſaries* to their *adverſaries*; one of whom might, for any thing that appears to the contrary, *break the man's head*; for which *broken head* they were both to be hanged.

"You may now, Gentlemen, juſtly demand, what the evidence amounted to, by which the Chairmen were ſuppoſed to be convicted of wilful murder? I reply—To this and to no more.

" One *ſeries* of evidence proved, that *ſome-body* (no witneſs pretended to know *who*, or of *what* party) broke Mr. Clark's head :—By another *ſeries* of evidence it appears, there were in the Brentford Election great riots and confuſions of violence, in which *both* parties were engaged ;—that in theſe frays *M'Quirk* was very *miſchievouſly active* ; but it does not appear that *Balfe* acted at all.

" The *total* deficiency of relation which *one* of theſe ſeries of evidence has to the *other*,—and the *total* deficiency of evidence, to produce any *moral* proof of that *actual*, *wilful* abetting, with which the priſoners are charged,—the law moſt *obligingly* ſupplies, by a general maxim, That *all* who are engaged in an unlawful act are liable to the charge of acceſſaries to any murder, which may at ſuch time be perpetrated.

" I am far from pretending to diſpute the *legality* of a ſentence founded entirely on *imputed*, not *actual* guilt :—What I think of the *juſtice* of a ſentence founded on this far-fetched implication *alone*, will appear afterwards.

" In *direct denial* of this conviction of murder, the far-fetched *inhuman chicane* of implication *only*, --you, Gentlemen, have *affirmed* that the Chairmen were convicted on the evidence of ſeveral witneſſes, beſides Mr. F——. You have *poſitively affirmed*, that Balfe or M'Quirk *ſtruck the blow*;—and again, that thoſe *men aſſaulted* and *wounded* Clark.—If all this was true, then were the Chairmen convicted *morally* as well as *legally* of the *wilful* murder of Clark, by their *own conſcious proper act* (admitting that a common broken head was a *mortal wound*); and to pardon ſuch a murder, clearly proved the K—— *might have been* repreſented with ſome appearance of truth, as unjuſtly attached to

a party,

a party, and improperly influenced to grant a pardon where it could not be deſerved.

" But as the caſe really was, theſe men were *not convicted* by any evidence of the guilt of *perſonal agency*, with reſpect to the blow given to Clark, but were *cruſhed* merely by a *ſevere, oppreſſive, inhuman* legal ſentence.—The K—— therefore, in granting a pardon to the *much injured victims* of ſo *ferocious a Law*—far from being blameable, acted *meritoriouſly* in the higheſt degree—ſaved his C—n from a ſtain—and the equity of his Government from the juſt imputation, to ſay the leaſt, of *immoderate cruelty*.

" Thus it appears, Gentlemen, that by placing the *fulleſt confidence* in the report of a *faction*, utterly unworthy of any *credit at all*, you have, altogether without intending it, violated *Truth*, to which in general you pay ſo conſcientious a regard; —greatly contributed to confirm the factious part of the public in their *error*, and their *rancour* reſpecting the pardon in queſtion;—and, in ſome degree, *injured* a ——— whom, for his many virtues, you love and honour, by miſrepreſenting the facts on which the pardon was founded.

" Permit, Gentlemen, a conſtant reader of your Review, who eſteems your ſenſe and knowledge, and highly honours your general attachment to the cauſes of *benevolence* and *truth*, very plainly to tell you, that *one* of theſe *three things muſt* happen.

" 1*ſt*. That you *prove* from the *Trial* the *conviction* of the Chairmen by ſeveral witneſſes beſides F— of the guilt you aſcribe to them:—That you alſo prove Balſe or M'Quirk *gave the Blow*:—and again "that theſe men aſſaulted and wounded Clark: —For all this you *poſitively aſſert*.—If all this is proved to be true, it follows, that theſe men by

their *own proper* acts were *morally* as well as *legally* guilty (if the blow was mortal) of murder in its higheſt enormity;—and as murderers to this clear amount of *actual* not *implied* guilt, improper objects of his Majeſty's clemency.

" 2*dly*. If you *cannot* eſtabliſh the *truth* of your *aſſertions*, you muſt publicly *retract them*, and own your miſtake in the moſt explicit terms.

" 3*dly*. In caſe you fail in *both* the other conditions, your aſſertions muſt remain, to the diſgrace of your Review, *detected*, *manifeſt*, *malignant*, falſehoods.

" I cannot take my leave of you, Gentlemen without recommending to the *judicious* and *humane Monthly Reviewers* of Beccaria's " Treatiſe on Crimes and Puniſhments," the candid peruſal of the trial of the Chairmen; they will find in it *many* paſſages which will not fail to excite their amazement, and raiſe their indignation. I mention this peruſal, and recommend it only for your *private ſpeculation*, and not with any deſign or deſire to draw you into any further controverſy about the trial.

" If all the inquiſitive part of our Countrymen, would read this trial with attention and candour, they would plainly diſcover the *temper* and *principles* of thoſe modern Patriots, to whom ſo many ſhew the moſt *fooliſh*, *ſervile*, and to themſelves *degrading reſpect*."

And now, Mr. URBAN, I return to you and the Trial; in which there are ſeveral paſſages I cannot let paſs unremarked; though there are none on which I ſhall detain your attention ſo long as I have done on thoſe which are paſt.

It appears by the evidence,—that at the time of Polling, a great number of people were attending, as ſpectators, in the front of the Huſtings;

ings; and that far the greater part of that number were of Mr. Sergeant Glyn's party.—This was naturally to be expected; for it has never failed to happen within my obſervation, that the numerous partizans of the popular candidate, from their zeal to the cauſe, very thickly beſet the place of voting.

But, Mr. URBAN, it ſeems to have been a very ill judged arrangement, to take the votes for *both* Candidates, in the *ſame* booth, or building: This I ſuppoſe *was* the caſe at Brentford; and I alſo apprehend, this *common* place of voting is that called in the trial, the *Huſtings*.—In all the popular Elections I have ſeen, ſeparate Booths have been erected for the contending parties, at as great a diſtance from each other, as the area of the place appointed for the Election would admit: By this very neceſſary precaution the mob of *one* party was in a good degree kept remote from the mob of the *other*; and much of that *miſchief* was prevented, which can hardly *fail* to happen, when the mobs of the contending parties are neceſſarily *intermixed*, and conſtantly *inſulting* and *provoking* each other.

Another obſervation I have to communicate is this. In all the popular Elections to which I have been preſent; (and it has fallen in my way to be preſent at ſeveral) the candidate in whoſe favour the popular humour was warmly engaged, *always* obtained a very great majority at the *beginning* of the Poll. This never failed to happen within my obſervation; and *that*, as well when the popular Candidate came *far ſhort* of the Majority, at the *end* of the Poll, as when it was cloſed greatly in his *favour*.—That it ſhould always be thus, is very natural to believe from the ardour

dour and impetuoſity, with which Voters on the ſide of an inflamed popularity, preſs to the Poll.

This Majority, at ſetting off, which ſo naturally ſooths the hopes of a popular Candidate, actually happened, according to cuſtom, in the Election at Brentford; for there can be no doubt, that the majority on the Poll was, at *firſt*, greatly in favour of Mr. Sergeant Glyn.

But after 1 o'Clock—" *Q.* Was it obſerved, that the number for Sir. W. B. Proctor was very much increaſed?—*Evidence. Mr. Heighway.* It increaſed very much.—*Q.* Was it underſtood by the Gentlemen that they were conſiderably increaſed? *Heighway.* It was generally underſtood that Sir William would have the majority had the poll gone on. That was between one and two o'clock. The Poll went on then quiet.—If there had been no *diſturbance*, I was of opinion, Sir William would have the majority. This was the opinion of ſeveral that converſed with me.—I dare ſay, Sir William's friends wiſhed things had gone on quietly.—*Q.* Did that continue to be the opinion till the Riot began?—*Heighway.* It was the general opinion of my friends about the Huſtings.—At a little diſtance from the North End we ſaw two men in a ſcuffle—one ſtruck the other.—This was a little after two o'clock.—This is what I call, the beginning of the Riot. Some of the Conſtables endeavoured to part them. One of the Conſtables was knocked down, and his ſtaff broken. When the ſtaff was broken, other Conſtables came to their aſſiſtance. There was *a hat thrown into the air very* ſoon after.—Soon after a great number of people ruſhed into the ſtreet, and beat the people down, and drove away every body before them.—*Q.* Did the mob, who did this,

this, make any ſhout? or what did they ſay? *Heighway.* They made *no ſhout* when they *began*; but when they had drove away all the people, they cried, *Glyn for ever.*—*Q.* Was that the ſame mob?—*Heighway.* I cannot take upon me to ſay it was the ſame mob. It was a continuation of the ſame Riot. *Evid. Heighway*, p. 88, 89. *Seſſions Paper.*

The circumſtance of throwing up the hat is mentioned again by the evidence for the priſoners.—*Evid. Stone.* "Upon the hat being thrown up, a general inſurrection followed all around." *Trial*, p. 97.

This is again mentioned by *Evidence Wegg*, p. 93.

The Huſtings, or polling-place, as I apprehend, was in the front thick beſet, as is natural to imagine, by the friends of Mr. Glyn, at the time that a conſiderable body of Freeholders arrived in favour of Sir W. B. Proctor. On this occaſion, a party of thoſe men, who were hired to clear the way to the Huſtings, were called out to that ſervice.—It was, I preſume, theſe men who made their way up to the Huſtings in ſome kind of regular body, that are conſidered by the evidence for the proſecution, Mr. Jones and Mr. Allen, as the beginners of the Riot. See *Evid. Jones and Allen, Trial*, p. 67, 73.—I make no doubt but every witneſs reported what he obſerved.—Thus the firm compacted body of aſſailants obſerved by Mr. Allen, eſcaped the notice of Mr. Heighway.

All things remaining quiet immediately near the Huſtings, it was natural for the Gentlemen *on* the Huſtings to apprehend thoſe to be the beginners of the Riot, who were firſt obſerved to *approach them* in a riotous manner.

But

But it does by no means follow that thoſe who *firſt arrived*, whether they were of the party of Glyn or Proctor, were *therefore* the *beginners* of the Riot.

How, and by whom it really began, was much more likely to have been known by ſuch as were on the *outſide* or *ſkirts* of the crowd; which forming, as it may be ſuppoſed, a pretty cloſe body up to the Huſtings, could not but greatly obſtruct the general view at the Huſtings, of what paſſed beyond the crowd.

Beſides the ſcuffle mentioned before by the Evidence for the priſoners, Mr. Heighway; there were *ſeveral riotous aſſaults* atteſted by ſeveral other witneſſes.

On the arrival of a large body of Freeholders to vote for Sir William Beauchamp, "ſeveral people with *Glyn in their hats* hiſſed them. There was a young fellow with a browniſh coat cried out, Proctor for ever! upon which one of theſe men *knocked him down*. Then Mr. Pierce went amongſt the crowd, and the people *with Glyn in their hats* ſaid, Kill him, he is a madman. We got him, and huſtled him away." *Evid. Stone*, p. 96. The ſame in general is atteſted by Mr. Pierce, with reſpect to the *knocking the man down*. "They ſaid the man was out of his ſenſes, and they would duck him. They came and hawled him out of my hands; what they did with him I don't know."—*Trial*, *Evid. Pierce*, p. 98.

This *knocking people down* only for their crying out, *Proctor for ever*, and threatening to kill or duck them, is moſt exceedingly like the beginning of a Riot; at leaſt as to the diſpoſition of the aſſailants on this occaſion, and may, I think, juſtly be reckoned the prelude or overture to that which followed very ſoon after. — Take another example

example of the riotous humour of Glyn's party. —" About the hours of one or two, to the beſt of my remembrance, there might be about thirty men aſſembled together, with *favors for Mr. Glyn.* Q. Had they any thing in their hands?—*Roberts. They had ſticks.* One of them ſaid, he would fight any of Mr. Proctor's men, and ſwore a great oath. Q. Did this man make any noiſe? —*Roberts.* He cried out, 'Glyn for ever, and no Proctor.'—Several of them cried out ſo. That man *ſtripp'd*, and *with the ſtick* he had in his hand *ſtruck* ſeveral people that had *Proctor* in their hats. Q. How did theſe people behave? *Roberts.* They behaved very peaceably.—I ſaw no diſturbance by any of them. Q. When did the Riot begin? *Roberts.* For what I know, *this was the beginning of it.*" *Trial, Evidence Roberts*, p. 98.

This is partly confirmed by another Evidence. *Cullum.* " I was at Brentford. I ſaw but little. I ſaw a man about one or two o'clock ſtripped, and offered to fight any of Proctor's Iriſh Gang." *Trial, Evidence Cullum*, p. 98.

But we ſhall have, Mr. URBAN, a ſtill more direct account of the beginning of the Riot from Mr. Wilſon, who was at another part.—About two o'clock, Mr. Wilſon thought it a proper time, *as all was then quiet*, for Mr. Jordadine to go to vote; this particular time, *when all was quiet*, was choſen, becauſe Mr. Jordadine was an infirm man. He went from Wilſon's houſe, which is not far from the Huſtings. *Wilſon*, He went out, eſcorted by half a dozen men, or more that were hired to aſſiſt the conſtables of Brentford, and to *aſſiſt people to poll.*—Q. Did theſe men behave improperly? — *Wilſon.* Not as I ſaw.—Q. Who did Mr. Jordadine go to vote

for?—*Wilſon.* For Sir William Beauchamp.—There was a perſon came to take their *ſtaves* from them. *Q.* Who was that perſon? *Wilſon.* Mr. Grange; he is Headborough of the Hamlet of Hammerſmith.—*Q.* Did he complain of any improper behaviour of theſe men?—*Wilſon.* No—He wanted to know who gave them authority, and *knocked ſeveral of them down.* They had done *nothing more* than to *eſcort the people that went to vote for Sir William.* They behaved very peaceably.—I ſaw him *ſtrike ſeveral.*—*Counſel.* I ſuppoſe theſe were people that behaved *improperly?*—*Wilſon.* No, *they did not.*—*Q.* Did they go up to the Huſtings? *Wilſon.* He demanded their ſtaves, and demanded to ſee their authority, and *forced* the ſtaves from a great many of them, and gave three cheers. *Q.* Was there any Riot upon this? *Wilſon. The Riot ſucceeded immediately.* *Q.* What followed upon this? *Wilſon.* As ſoon as they had gained the victory, they went away with three huzzas. This was the *firſt I ſaw of the Riot.*—*Q.* Who gave three cheers? *Wilſon.* Grange and his attendants.—*Counſel.* You ſay they huzzaed upon gaining the victory. *Wilſon.* That was in taking away the *ſtaves* from the men that *behaved peaceably.*" *Trial, Evid. Wilſon,* p. 93.

From all theſe evidences taken together, it plainly appears to me, that the mobbing was begun, *not* by Sir W. B. Proctor's party, but by Mr. Glyn's.—I form my opinion thus far, entirely by the evidence recited in the *Seſſions-paper.* But in giving my ſincere ſentiments on the commencement of this Riot, from ſuch information as I can collect from the *Seſſions-paper,* I muſt deſire, Mr. URBAN, that what I write on this head may paſs for *opinion,* and no more; for I pretend not

not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, to *aſcertain* as *indubitable fact*, that which, in the nature of the thing, from the confuſion and diſorder of the ſcene, and an unavoidable perplexity in comparing the evidence relating to what happen'd at different places,—cannot but have ſome degree of uncertainty.

If I do not greatly miſtake, all the violence of attack I have related from the evidence, happen'd *in order of time*, before any acts of violence are alledged by evidence againſt Sir W. B.'s party.

But beſides the *direct* evidence above extracted, which, I think, plainly marks out Glyn's party as the beginners of the Riot, there are ſeveral circumſtances which make it highly probable, it was *begun* and *continued* by that party.

1ſt, The great diſpoſition of the mob on that ſide, to rioting, as is evident on ſo many occaſions; the great ſuperiority of numbers of the mob on that ſide; and the highly inflam'd condition of their humours. It is paſt my conception, how *mobbing* could do ſervice to *either* party; but leaſt of all could it *avail* that party, which was by far the weakeſt in the field of Battle.

2d. The people who gather'd for mobbing, a great part of them ſeemed to come from the *Caſtle Yard*; this is related by ſeveral witneſſes.—The Caſtle, it ſeems, was not a houſe of Sir W. B. *Evid. Heighway.* p. 91.

3d. The throwing up *the hat* ſeems to be conſidered as the ſignal on Glyn's ſide; for immediately *upon it* the riot became general. The drawing a part of the men together, to clear the way for Sir W. Beauchamp's voters, ſeems to have been the immediate occaſion of engaging *that party* in the mob; and it is to be remark'd, that *ſeveral* of Proctor's people were in the *houſe at Dinner* when the *Riot happen'd:* if it had been

premeditated by that party, they ſurely would have *drawn* out their *whole* poſſe. *Evidence Clark*, p. 95.

4th. The Mob which came up to the Huſtings cry'd out, 'Glyn for ever,' when they had driven away the people, as appears by Mr. Heighway's evidence. This is confirm'd by *Evid. Stone*. Mr. Heighway alſo affirms, that the parties were fighting one another in the *beginning* of the Riot, and in the middle of the Riot. Mr. Allen alſo ſays, there *were a number of Mobs*, p. 74.

5th. It appears that Sir W. B. was driven violently *before a mob*, that he was *pelted*, p. 89. When he got into a houſe for ſhelter, the mob *Damn'd Proctor*, and cried, 'Pull him out, pull him out.' *Evid. Pierce*, p. 99. Another Evidence ſays, "they damn'd Sir William, and ſaid they would have *his Blood*." *Evid. Stone*, p. 97.

Nothing, I think, of this kind of violence, or of threatening, appears in the trial to have been offered to Mr. Serjeant Glyn.

6th. It appears by the examination of Clark, who was one of the men hired in behalf of Sir W. B. what their buſineſs *was*. "Q. What was the *expreſs orders* that you were to do? *Clark*. We were to make way for the Conſtables, for the Gentlemen to come in; to keep peace and quietneſs; to *make way* for the Gentlemen to come in, if call'd upon by the Conſtables. Q. What was you bid to do? *Clark*. To open a way to the Huſtings, in caſe there was any obſtruction. Q. Did you ſet out with any body elſe, or go alone? *Clark*. I ſet out with more men. Q. Had you or your companions any ſticks at all? *Clark*. I had *none*, nor my Companions, as I know of. Q. Had they the ſame orders as you had? *Clark*. Yes. Q. Had they ſticks or no? *Clark*. *Some*

of

of them had. They had *no large ſticks.* Some of them had *rattans.* Q. Had any of you *bludgeons* or any offenſive weapons? *Clark.* No: Our *orders were,* to have *no arms.*" *Trial, Evid. Clark,* p. 94. In the evidence given in behalf of the proſecution, what the Rioters are reported to have ſtruck with, are *ſometimes* called *Bludgeons,* and *ſometimes ſticks.*—It clearly appears by the evidence for the Priſoners, that ſome of Glyn's people had *alſo ſticks or ſtaves.*

7th. 'One of the oddeſt circumſtances attending the Riot was but little noted, and not attempted to be trac'd to its origin; I mean the Bundle, or Bundles of ſtaves, which were brought into the midſt of a crowd by ſome *unknown* hand, and there *thrown down* to be *picked up* and made uſe of.' *Evid. Clark,* p. 94. It does not appear that *Proctor's people* conſider'd theſe *Broom-ſtaves* as deſign'd for them; nor does it appear they took them up.'

8th. Sir William Beauchamp's Poll was increaſing at the time the riot began; and he had then *ſeveral Freeholders* on the ſpot, who had not voted. His friends believed he would have had the majority, had the Poll then continued. It ſeems, I think, very probable, the event might have been *favourable* to Sir W. B. becauſe after the *Zeal of Patriotiſm* had drawn out its whole ſtrength in favour of Mr. Glyn, his Poll amounted but to 1500; which is very far ſhort of a Majority of the Freeholders, if it is true that the whole Number is 4000.

Theſe Remarks, Mr. URBAN, I have given, merely as matter of opinion, which every one is free to reject, or admit, as he ſees proper. But when I give it as my *real opinion,* that the Mobbing was begun by Glyn's people, I do by no means

intend

intend to inſinuate that it was *ſet on foot* by Mr. Serjeant Glyn, or by any reſpectable leader in his cauſe. To ſpeak candidly and impartially, it does not appear to me, that the condition of *either* Candidate was at this time ſo deſperate, as to induce *either of the parties*, thro' artifice, deſpair, or reſentment, to have recourſe to Mobbing. There ſeems nothing more in the *whole tranſaction* than one of thoſe *unconcerted*, *unmeaning frays*, which ſeldom fail to happen on occaſions like this, when the giddy brains of one party are *diſtracted by paſſion*, and thoſe of the other *diſtemper'd by liquor*; and in this condition of temporary madneſs, urged to acts of violence by mutual provocation, ſo eaſily given, and ſo readily receiv'd, by their being *intermixed* in the ſame Multitude, at this ill-concerted Election.

But, Mr. URBAN, the circumſtance of *hiring people* to attend at this Election on the part of Sir W. B. has been repreſented as *hiring a mob* to be made uſe of to the worſt of purpoſes.—Nothing can be more fooliſh, or more unjuſt, than this baſe ſuggeſtion. The riotous proceedings of the Patriotic Mob at the preceding Brentford Election, were too notorious to be denied, and too miſchievous to be forgot. The popular party, at all elections, in which the humours of the people become warmly intereſted, will conſtantly fix their ſtand in great numbers as near as may be to the place of polling. Under theſe circumſtances it ſeems *not poſſible* to have ſecured a *freedom of voting*, unleſs a proper aſſiſtance had been provided to open a way fairly and peaceably, by which the Freeholders on the ſide of the *unpopular* candidate might have free and ſecure acceſs to the place of polling.

This

This, and no more, is all that could be intended by Sir W. Beauchamp, ſince *no mob* he could hire would probably have been equal to a ſucceſsful encounter, with the great number of vindictive ſubaltern patriots, he could not but expect would march from London on ſo intereſting an occaſion to the glorious cauſe of Number 45, as the event of the Middleſex Election.

It is, I believe, a long time ſince an election for that county has been conteſted.—The tranſactions on ſimilar occaſions, at ſuch elections, may not be remembered. The violence of party rage never could at any time run into *greater exceſſes*, nor is it probable they *ever before* ran into ſo *great*. But however it may have been formerly in Middleſex, the *hiring* men to ſecure or open a free paſſage to the place of polling, is by no means unprecedented .

The evidence Clark, one of the hired men, ſays, " he was hired to attend at Brentford, with ten men more in his company. *Q.* How many *ſuch companies* were there belonging to Sir William ? *Clark.* There were ſixteen or ſeventeen." *Trial*, p. 94. So that there were, according to this account, about 180 men attending in this ſervice ; and theſe men were *expreſsly* ordered, as Clark *declares upon oath*, to have *no arms*. Some of them, but not all, had ſticks, or rattans. *Trial*, p. 94. Has this ſmall troop the appearance of a body capable of engaging the powerful poſſe of a London or Middleſex mob, with even a *poſſibility* of ſucceſs ? Would *double*, would *treble* the number have been equal to ſuch an engagement?

But, Mr. URBAN, that the *hiring men* on ſuch occaſions is not unprecedented ; and that a body of 180 men, if every one had wielded a common ſtick, does not form the moſt terrible armament

which

which ever appeared in the warfare of Electioneering, take the following examples; which, though they cannot make that to be *lawful*, which perhaps, ſtrictly ſpeaking, is *not ſo*, will yet prove the practice to be neither *new*, or *neceſſarily* productive of miſchief. The practice itſelf, however, I neither *blame* nor *commend*.

At the late General Election for the City of Norwich, I am well *informed*, there appeared on both ſides about Two Thousand men; moſt of them, if not all, in white waiſtcoats, and each man having a *white Quarter ſtaff near five feet in length*. It is not imagined theſe men were to be conſidered as *conſtables*, becauſe they were divided on one or the other party, by the badge, the Cockade of the candidates in whoſe cauſe they were inliſted; and they were employed in guarding the *ſeparate Booths*, or in conducting the reſpective voters *each* of his *own* party.—Theſe men too were *hired*, and, if I am rightly informed, had half a guinea *each* man for the day's attendance.

I would not be miſunderſtood, as I ſhould be, if I was thought to affirm there were neither *more* or *leſs* than 2000 men employed on this occaſion. All I mean to *affirm*, on the credit of my information, which comes from a diſintereſted but an inquiſitive ſpectator, is this and no more: The number was apparently *very great*; and on the day of Election the general report was, that there were on the unpopular ſide 1500 ſtavesmen, and in the ſervice of the popular Candidate 1200. This report ſets the number *much higher* than two thouſand. But perhaps *each* party invidiouſly magnified the force of the other; ſo that, making proper allowance for the operations of electioneering *ſlander*, ſo *cuſtomary*

and

and *ſo baſe*, if we ſet the *unpopular troop* at 11 or 1200, and the *Patriot band* at 8 or 900, we may not differ widely from the number which the ſober people on each ſide would admit.

In this inſtance we ſee a *little army* drawn out on each ſide; and yet this election was carried on and ended, I am told, without any interruption, or any diſorder (a ſmall ſhort ſcuffle between a few ſtaves-men on each ſide about a voter, to which each party laid claim, only excepted); and though *more votes* were taken than poll'd in the *whole* of the *Middleſex election*, yet was this at Norwich finiſhed in ONE day, and the return made by about ſix o'clock.

At the conteſted Election for the county of Norfolk, which was held a few days after in Norwich, the number of *ſtaves-men*, I am told, was *very great* on each ſide, (not equal however, my informant *thinks*, to the number employed at the City election); and this County election, numerous as the voters for ſo great a County muſt be, was carried on and concluded with great regularity and order.

Nor is this practice *new*; for at the laſt conteſted Election for the County of Norfolk, (before that of the preſent Parliament) which happened in 1734, the number of theſe *ſtaves-men* was *very great* —The people of that time were almoſt as *mad* about General Exciſe, as they were at the late Election about General Warrants; yet the *order* and *decorum* of *that* Election were ſo perfect, and the *arrangement* for taking the Poll was ſo *proper*, that between 6 and 7000 votes were taken in one day, the return made, and the members chair'd the ſame evening without any diſorder happening.

I return to finiſh my remarks on the trial.—In whatever manner, or by whatever party, the Riot was begun, certain it is, that M'Quirk, and a great many *beſides* of both parties, were very active in doing miſchief.—This, with reſpect to M'Quirk, is atteſted in a very ſatisfactory manner both by Mr. Clay the High Conſtable, and by Mr. Allen.--For the miſchief proved to have been done by this man's hands he *juſtly* deſerved exemplary puniſhment; though for the murder with which he was *charged*, but not *convicted*, he could not deſerve to be hanged.

I proceed now to relate the *manner* of apprehending the Priſoners, and to recite part of the Evidence—how ſhall I expreſs it?—They were *induced* to give againſt themſelves.—On this occaſion I ſhall ſuppreſs both *indignation* and *ridicule*, and ſhall content myſelf with barely giving a verbal extract from the trial. It is impoſſible *this* repreſentation can juſtly give offence, ſince it will be no more than *producing* the *Gentlemen themſelves* to report their *own conduct*, in their *own words*, as they ſtand recorded in the trial: Such of my Countrymen as are inquiſitive, may read the whole narrative in the Trial, and judge for themſelves; which when they have done, let me intreat them to throw the veil of oblivion over the whole tranſaction.

Upon ſeeing M'Quirk employed in doing miſchief near the Huſtings, Mr. Allen, with great propriety and good-nature, jumped from the Huſtings among the crowd, and not without ſome danger to himſelf interpoſed to ſtop, as far as was in his power, the progreſs of tumult and outrage. As Mr. Allen was *obſerved* by M'Quirk to *leave ſpeaking* to Sir William Beauchamp, when he leaped off the Huſtings to ſtop the hand of violence,

lence, it was natural he (M'Quirk) ſhould apprehend that Gentleman to be a *friend* to Sir William. Mr. Allen availed himſelf of this original miſtake in M'Quirk; and paſſing ſtill with him for Sir William's Friend, engaged the man in a free unreſerved converſation about the part he had in the Riot. And after moving from place to place, as their converſation was interrupted, Mr. Allen at length *appointed* M'Quirk to meet him that night at the Shakeſpear's head in Covent-Garden, and ſo parted.—After this, Mr. Allen deſired Mr. Jones and Mr. Hannam to be at the Shakeſpear; "becauſe one of the people concerned in the Riot at Brentford, that day, had told him he would meet him at the Shakeſpear at ten o'clock or thereabouts." *Evid. Jones*, p. 68.

After Mr. Jones had waited ſome time at the Shakeſpear, while Mr. Allen was gone to the Houſe of Commons, Balfe ſent to know, if the Gentleman was up ſtairs, that had appointed to meet him. Mr. Jones deſired him to come up: Mr. Hannam was gone.—When Balfe came into the Room, he told Mr. Jones, "he was not the man that had appointed to meet Mr. Allen, but he was *his friend*; and *he* would come; and Balfe went and brought M'Quirk." *Trial*, p. 68. —Soon after Mr. Allen alſo came to the Shakeſpear, when Jones went away.

In conferring with theſe men, Mr. Jones ſays, —"The *men* took Mr. Allen to be *a friend* of Sir W. Beauchamp's; and that he did not ſuppoſe *Mr. Allen* or *I intended* to take *them up*.—Quirk told me, he did not know what he ſhould do. He came there to *conſult* Mr. Allen, in regard to *his ſafety*."—(Mr. Allen had told him "he did *ſee two* men *lay down for dead*. Quirk ſaid, he would go to France. Said I, you will call upon

me firſt at the Shakeſpear." *Evid. Allen*, p. 81.) "Theſe people *taking* us to be friends to Sir. W. B. declared the affair to us, not knowing whether we were ſo; but they *took* us to be ſo. The man did not know Mr. Allen's name. He was to enquire, *as Mr. Allen told me, for Sir. William Beauchamp Proctor's friend at the Shakeſpear.*" *Evid. Jones*, p. 72.

"I *pretended*, ſaid Mr. Jones, to be a Friend of Sir W. B P. to get at the truth of the affair. The men looked upon Mr. Allen to be a friend of Sir W. B.—I told them I was not Mr. Allen, but a friend of Mr. Allen.—*Q.* What did you mean by telling the men they might *ſafely* let you know what they had to ſay? *Jones.* That I ſhould take no notice of it."—*Evid. Jones.* p. 72.—*Counſel* to *Mr. Allen.*—"Then you continued to paſs for the friend of Sir William all the time you had this intercourſe with him? (that is, with M'Quirk at Brentford) *Allen.* I did not undeceive him.—*Counſel.* Then the man was *deceived* by ſuppoſing you to be a friend of Sir William?—*Allen.* HE WAS DECEIVED, to be ſure.—*Counſel.* Then your motive to this was to get as much intelligence as you could? *Allen.* That was the reaſon I did not undeceive him. *Counſel.* Then it was you drew him from one place to another, to furniſh yourſelf with evidence concerning the Riot? *Allen.* Yes."—*Trial, Evid. Allen*, p. 78.

This man, M'Quirk, was ſo ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed *by ſome means or other* that Mr. Allen was a friend to the cauſe he was engaged in, that on ſeeing this Gentleman the next day at Sir John Fielding's; as he paſſed by him there, M'Quirk ſaid, "Maſter, not a word."—*Evid. Allen*, p 77. Mr. Jones alſo ſays, he "gave information to Mr. Horne, and others, of this tranſaction; and that

that it was thought proper to ſecure thoſe people." "I returned with theſe Gentlemen, and we took them to Sir John Fielding: we mentioned the affair to him—he deſired we would take a Conſtable, and ſecure them till the next day.—*Q.* Where did you find them? *Jones.* They were ſtill *at the Shakeſpear.*"

Thus, Mr. URBAN, were theſe men drawn to the Shakeſpear in the manner I have related in the Witneſſes *own words.*—They were ordered to enquire at the Shakeſpear, as Mr. Allen himſelf told Mr. Jones, *for the friend of Sir. W. Beauchamp.* Upon meeting there, this declared Friend of Sir W. B. P.; and the Friend of that Friend; who himſelf ſays he pretended to be a Friend of Sir W. B. to get at the truth of the affair; did theſe Chairmen, relying on the opinion they had by ſome means conceived of ſafety; talk to them without reſerve; and in this very houſe, to which theſe *miſtaken* men were brought, in the manner we have ſeen, they remained in the ſtrongeſt *opinion* of ſecurity until they were apprehended in conſequence of an information, which one of theſe Gentlemen *declares* that he himſelf gave to Mr. Horne and others (by Mr. Horne I preſume is meant, the moſt reverend, meek-minded, chriſtian-like, holy, Divine of that name); and the converſation of theſe Chairmen, under the circumſtances above deſcribed, was made uſe of by theſe very Gentlemen, in evidence againſt the men who were thus fatally miſtaken. I forbear to make any remarks on a relation which needs none.

I ſhould not do juſtice to poor Balſe, if I did *mark* the *great difference* between his caſe and M'Quirk's. In this only they were alike; that neither of them was guilty of *murder:* — but

M'Quirk

M'Quirk appears by the evidence of Mr. Allen, and Mr. Clay, to have been guilty of a moſt notorious miſdemeanor; — Balfe was not proved guilty of any miſdemeanor at all.

Mr. Jones is the only evidence who ever mentions the name or the conduct of Balfe on the part of the proſecution; for Mr. Allen declares expreſsly, he "ſays nothing againſt Balfe." *Trial*, p. 74. As the recital is not very long, and the caſe, I have the charity to hope, without a precedent, I ſhall here ſet down every word of evidence, on which it was preſumed Balfe was convicted of murder. "Q. Did you ſee the other priſoner (Balfe) at Brentford?—*Jones*. Yes, but *I cannot ſay* I ſaw him *ſtrike any body*.—Q. Though you did not ſee him *ſtrike*, did you ſee whether he had any thing in his hand? *Jones*. I ſaw him *with a ſtick* in his hand, a bludgeon I think; it was rather larger than a *walking ſtick*, *therefore* I call them *bludgeons*; they were about three feet long; ſome more, ſome leſs; he had one, and was *waving* it. He was near the other priſoner. M'Quirk was before him. *Trial*, p. 68.—Mr. Jones again: "As ſoon as Balfe came into the Room (at the Shakeſpear) I knew him immediately to be one of thoſe people I ſaw from the Huſtings at Brentford that day.—P. 68. Balfe mentioned to me that he was hired by Mr. Broughton, and that he was to have a guinea for going down, whether it was one day or more. He ſaid, though he was there he had *not ſtruck any perſon*, but it was ſuch *bad work* he would not *go down* the *next day* if he was wanted. He told me he had no dinner, as he was called down to *clear the Huſtings to make way for Sir William Beauchamp's friends*.—I told him he might go down, and eat ſome beef-ſteaks below ſtairs; if he choſe it."—*Trial*, p. 69.

Mr.

Mr. Jones ſaw Balfe again at the Round-houſe. —*Jones.* "He made the ſame confeſſion there that he made to me at the tavern.—*Q.* Do you know of any reaſon, why M'Quirk was put down (into a certain place at the Round-houſe) and Balfe not? *Jones.* Balfe, on mentioning what *had been done*, there was ſome lenity ſhewn him: and he had a bed up ſtairs; one of us gave him a ſhilling for a bed." *Trial*, p. 72.

Upon this I obſerve, 1ſt. Mr. Jones is the only evidence againſt Balfe; and all the evidence he gave affecting the priſoner, I have recited.

2*d.* Mr. Jones declares he *did not ſee him ſtrike any body*, only he ſaw him *wave* a ſtick.

3*d.* Balfe relating his own conduct in the preſence of Gentlemen he *verily believed* were *friends* to Sir W—— B——— P——, could have *no inducement* to *conceal* the truth, or to *vary* from it. He therefore ſpoke the *whole* of what he *did* in full confidence, as M'Quirk alſo did. Balfe's *own* report of himſelf then, under theſe circumſtances, may fairly be *relied on.* He declared he never *ſtruck any body*, and *that he ſo much diſapproved the bad work he ſaw*, that he would not go again the next day if he was wanted.

4*thly.* Mr. Jones, and the Gentlemen with him, thought ſo favourably of this poor man, that they gave him a dinner, and afterward a ſhilling for a bed.

5*thly.* Yet was this man, whoſe conduct was *blameleſs*, to ſay the *leaſt to his advantage*; I ſpeak it not without *extremity* of *horror*; by an *Engliſh Jury*, on *no other evidence* than that I have juſt *recited*, found guilty of *Murder*; and in conſequence of the verdict condemned to *dye* *.

* Such of my ſenſible and benevolent readers as have not before had occaſion to remark, that judicial deciſions may be

6th. It appears to me in the ſtrongeſt light of conviction from Balfe's relation, that there is not

be at once in the ſtricteſt ſenſe legal, and in the higheſt degree unjuſt, will find what I have above related, of the n—m—l conviction of Balfe, altogether *incredible.*—It is even a *duty*, which every humane Briton owes to the *honour* of public juſtice, to regard this relation as *unworthy* of credit, until it is indiſputably aſcertained.

The relation itſelf, however decent it may be to diſbelieve it, is inconteſtibly *true*; and the leaders of the Faction, if they do not *publickly* and *clearly* refute it, by referring to ſome *other evidence* in the Trial, muſt *acquieſce* in its truth; becauſe all the world will be convinced, they would refute ſo *deadly* a charge on their pretended patriotiſm, if it *was in their power.*

Still further to expoſe to public view, and to general abhorrence, the extreme cruelty and injuſtice of patriot practices in the caſe of Balfe, I will add to the above remarks,

1ſt. Mr. Jones gave a very fair and candid evidence reſpecting this man.

2d. As no other evidence whatever was given againſt Balfe, it muſt *neceſſarily* follow,—either that he was convicted of murder, without any *evidence at all*;—or elſe, that he was convicted, *ſolely* and *entirely*, on this evidence given by Mr. Jones;—or elſe, that he was to be hanged without any *conviction at all.*

3d. But this evidence of Mr. Jones does not charge Balfe with any *crime* or *miſdemeanor* whatever: It does not charge him with any *act* whatever, except waving a ſtick; ſo that *waving a ſtick* muſt be a *capital* crime, muſt be *murder*; or elſe *no* capital crime, *no* murder, ever was alledged againſt Balfe, by any evidence.

4th. The ſticks Mr. Jones ſays, "he calls bludgeons, becauſe they were rather larger than a walking ſtick, about 3 feet long, ſome more, ſome leſs." The candour and caution of Mr. Jones in giving this evidence, I have great pleaſure in remarking. He very properly explains the ſenſe in which he calls theſe ſticks *bludgeons*, *becauſe ſome* of them were *rather larger* than walking-ſticks.

5th. Balfe was ſeen by Mr. Jones near M'Quirk; and in that company which was called out to make way for Sir W—— B——'s voters. Yet ſo far was this poor man from *acting* any violence *himſelf*, that he very honeſtly, very humanely, declared to Mr. Jones, (of whoſe friendſhip and attachment to the cauſe he himſelf was engaged in, Balfe did

not

the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon to ſuſpect, that the aſſiſtants to Sir W—— B——'s voters were hired with any *premeditated deſign* of mobbing or making a Riot.—Becauſe, not to repeat here what Clark, one of theſe hired men, related upon oath; had the *deſign* itſelf been to make a *riot*, why ſhould Balſe expreſs ſuch diſapprobation of the *bad work* he ſaw at Brentford, if to accompliſh that *bad work* was the deſign of his going? and the very ſervice for which he had agreed to receive

not entertain the *leaſt* doubt) his great *diſapprobation* of the "*bad work* he ſaw done by others; together with his firm reſolution, not to go to Brentford again, the next day, if he was wanted." Is it *poſſible* for any man whatever to have acted, on ſuch a ſcene, more *conſcientiouſly*, or with ſtricter *propriety* than Balſe acted?

6*th*. No other *fact* being by any witneſs alledged, it follows, that no other *charge* was perſonally advanced againſt Balſe, by any evidence but *waving a ſtick*.—That moſt EQUITABLE, HUMANE, RATIONAL, LEGAL, operation, by which *waving a ſtick*, in *one* place, may be *implied* into murdering a man, by breaking his head, in *another*; to which *other* place the *ſtick-waver* was *not preſent*; in which head-breaking murder he took *no part*;—and of which he had *no knowledge*, either as to the *head-breaking*, or the *broken-headed* parties; is a ſtrain of juſtice, which may *deprive* men of their *Lives*, as Balſe, UNPARDONED, would have been deprived of *his*; but *never* can *convict* them of *Guilt*; if all the *Coifed Sophiſters* in the world ſhould concur to attempt it.

If actions the moſt *remote* from *crimes* may be thus, by dint of *Implication*, transformed into *capital crimes*, who can be ſure, that any degree of virtue or caution can protect his neck from the IMPLICATION HALTER? which, *in this example*, hangs over *every* man's head *alike*; and which, if this example ſhould be followed, might prove the moſt *horrible engine* of *blood ſucking vengeance*, which could be employed, to eſtabliſh or protect deſpotic power. Yet *thoſe* are PATRIOTS, who have *ſet* this example;—*That* is a GRIEVANCE, which *interpoſed* to prevent its *execrable* effects.

There are *ſome* men to be found, *baſe* enough to declare their opinions; that is not ſo ſtrange; their *intereſt* requires it, but, to the utter diſgrace of humanity and common ſenſe, it is alſo *true*, there are FOOLS in abundance to *believe* them.

pay? M'Quirk indeed informed Mr. Allen, "that on *being called out*, Mr. Tatam, Lord Hallifax's man, gave him the word to 'go and play about them, that was his expreſſion; which he ſaid he did very effectually." *Trial*, p. 72.

But this direction, "to play about them," was not an inſtruction given him *previous* to their ſetting out for Brentford, as the *end* and *deſign* of *ſending* him *there*, but a ſudden unpremeditated hint, on M'Quirk's leaving the houſe at Brentford to clear the way to the Huſtings, at a time when it ſeems *highly probable*, to ſay the leaſt, from the evidence I have recited, that the Riot was *actually begun*; and though no circumſtance of *time* or *place* can make it either *legally* or *morally right* in Tatam to *give*, or in M'Quirk to *execute*, ſuch inſtructions; yet in point of premeditation and deſign, the circumſtance of *time* and *place*, and the *peace* or *uproar* of the contending parties, are very material.

I cannot, Mr. URBAN, leave this article of Balfe, without giving you, myſelf, and my readers, the ſatisfaction of obſerving, that in Mr. Jones's evidence reſpecting this man, we ſee manifeſted the humanity and candour of a true Britiſh Gentleman. So *entirely* as Balfe was in Mr. Jones's power at the Shakeſpear; if he had acted unfairly, he might have given what forced, or diſingenuous turn he pleaſed, to the information he received from Balfe; but the Gentleman's evidence is, as we have ſeen, fair and candid, without *any thing in it* which could *induce* ſuch a *verdict* as was given *againſt Balfe*.

There frequently appear in your Magazine, Mr. URBAN, critical eſſays on various ſubjects; very ingeniouſly written. — You would greatly oblige me, if you would engage ſome one of your moſt

moſt accurate and clear diſcerning critics, to fix, for general information, ſuch a preciſe logical diſtinction as would ſtand good *in Law*, between STRATAGEM and COLLUSION; becauſe to comprehend to a *hair's breadth* where Stratagem *ends* and *Colluſion begins*, is *become* a matter of very *ſerious*, and even as it *may* frequently happen, of very *rueful* conſequence.—I have been puzzling my brains about it to no purpoſe. I have tumbled over all the Dictionaries, and looked after the direction in every Index in which I could find the two words; yet ſtill I am not ſatisfied. There *is* ſo much of Stratagem in Colluſion, and there *is alſo* ſo much of Colluſion in Stratagem, that, *if I were to be hanged for it*, I could not clearly ſeparate the ideas. If your Critic ſhould fail *preciſely* to fix the boundaries, I believe at laſt I muſt follow Lord Bacon's advice to ſuch undiſtinguiſhing heads as mine, and ſtudy *Law Caſes*; which ſtudy, his Lordſhip ſays, "is very uſeful for ſuch minds as are unapt to *beat over matters*, and to call up one thing to prove and illuſtrate another."—*Bacon's Eſſay On Study.*

Now I have gone through this very minute examination of the Trial, we will, if you pleaſe, Mr. URBAN, draw into a collected point of obſervation ſuch *facts*, and ſuch *remarks*, as we have hitherto been conſidering ſomewhat too diffuſively; that from this recollection, we may clearly perceive, how *iniquitous*, I can uſe no ſofter word, and I am loth to uſe a harſher, it would have been to have put the Chairmen to death, (however legal the mode of finding them guilty might be) and by neceſſary conſequence how truly *worthy* of *univerſal applauſe* the *pardon became* which they obtained.

1ſt. Not one perſon of the ſuppoſed murdered man's Family appeared in ſupport of the Proſecution. It does not then appear that his Family thought themſelves injured; ſo no complaint could come from them, of any injuſtice done *them* by the Pardon.

2d. The proſecution appears plainly to have been commenced and carried on under the influence of a moſt vindictive party-ſpirit; and the principal witneſſes, by their paſſions, ſeem to have been too warmly concerned in the event of the proſecution. I do by no means ſay this to *invalidate*, but only a little to *moderate* the zeal of, the evidence againſt the priſoners. I have no where heſitated to admit, with due regard, what theſe gentlemen have depoſed: but none of their depoſitions tend in the leaſt to fix the *actual moral guilt* of Murder on the priſoners. If Mr. W. or Mr. R. Beale, Mr. Jones, or Mr. Allen, had been diſhoneſt or bad men, they *might*, and they *would*, have brought the accuſation *perſonally home* to the Chairmen.

3d. The *manner* of apprehending theſe men, and of obtaining their information, we have ſeen in the gentlemen's *own words*, and I need ſay no more of it.

4th. There does not appear any convincing evidence, or well-grounded reaſon, to believe Mr. Clark died of a broken head.

5th. If he did, neither the *perſon* who broke his head, nor even the *Party* to which this *unknown perſon* adhered, are diſcovered upon the Trial. At the time it happened all was in confuſion, Mob fighting againſt Mob. How then can it be known from which *party* he received the blow? There is no probability it was given by *either party* in that conflict by which M'Quirk, and

thoſe

thoſe who were with him, *opened a way* through the Mob up to the Huſtings. Becauſe Mr. R. Beal, with whom Clark then was ſpeaking of that attack, declares expreſsly, "He could not ſay he ſaw any one ſtruck." He alſo ſays, "I did not ſee the Blow; but going down to the Three Pidgeons, Mr. Clark overtook us after he had received the Blow.—I had not miſſed him. At firſt I ſaw him almoſt down upon his hands near the ground, a little below the Huſtings." We are, I preſume, to infer, that this being "almoſt down upon his hands," was from the effect of the Blow.

Q. "What diſtance was you from him when you ſaw him near the ground? *R. Beal.* I might be an *hundred yards diſtance*, I will not be poſitive." *Trial*, p. 82.

Now if R. Beal *diſtinctly* ſaw Clark ſtagger, in conſequence of the blow, till he was near the ground, at *any thing like* the diſtance of an *hundred yards*, it is hardly poſſible to conceive the blow could be given in a *crowd* or *mob*; but it muſt come from the hand of ſome *ſtraggling* blockhead; but of what party the raſcal was, who can ſay?

6th. The Chairmen were indicted as *Acceſſaries*, and as ſuch convicted, though no *Principal* was given in Evidence, by relation to whoſe aſſault on Clark the Acceſſaries guilt might be eſtimated or aſcertained.

7th. Not one Witneſs of the many who were examined, ever pretended that either Balſe or M'Quirk ever *ſtruck*,—ever *ſaw*,—ever were *near* Mr. Clark, or ever had the *leaſt knowledge of*, or *connection with*, him that gave the Blow.

8th. But theſe men, to whom no *actual conſcious moral* Guilt of Murder *could* be imputed, were deemed guilty by CONSTRUCTION of LAW only;

only; becauſe they, with a very great number of men beſides, were preſent at a deſperate Election-fray, which never was clearly proved to be begun by their party, and in which *only one* of the accuſed Chairmen was active.

9th. The worſe than barbarian,—the helliſh exclamation of joy, at the Old Bailey, when theſe men were declared Guilty, (ſo wiſely and ſo humanely reproved by the worthy Recorder) ſufficiently *marks* the *implacable adverſe ſpirit* of the *times* in which they were tried.

Yet was the pardon of the Chairmen, who were never *convicted* of the Murder of which they were by the Verdict *found guilty*, *repreſented* by the baſe and the crafty, and *received* by the credulous and the brutal, as a moſt enormous grievance; though the ſuffering theſe men to be put to death, would have been as *foul* a *ſtain* on the *public juſtice* of the nation as ever *diſgraced* it.

I ſay the pardon of the *Chairmen*; becauſe, though I think the chatterers of Grievances have for *ſome time paſt* ſtruck the pardon of *Balfe* out of the black liſt, yet if the pardon had not ſaved him, when Juſtice and Mercy firſt became criminal in our S—r—n, the poor man would have been hang'd, and half rotten, before the Faction had recovered *ſenſe enough* to perceive, it was *impoſſible* to put him to death, without hanging up the *Public Juſtice* on the ſame Gallows by his ſide, as a ſpectacle of *univerſal horror*. So the *Faction* can derive *no merit* from that pretence to moderation.

That moſt judicious perſon, Mr. J. F. of Holles-Street, is a profound admirer of the *equity* of this trial, which ended in the condemnation of the Chairmen, and ſays ſomething exceeding civil

civil of Mr. J——e G——d on the occaſion. *Appeal*, p. 39. He ſeems indeed quite aſtoniſhed, that any ſhould be *wicked enough* to doubt every thing being *right* which has been confirmed by *three juries*. *Appeal*, p. 7.—If it will ſtrengthen and comfort the faith of this *ſearcher for contra-fiſſures*, in the *infallible* judgment of juries, I will aſſure him it is my real opinion, that not only *three* but *three thouſand* juries, with the cauſe before them, *at the ſame time and place*, would have brought in the ſame verdict, as it was ſo *ſtrictly* legal. Yet would not the verdict of *three thouſand* juries have proved the priſoners at all *more* guilty; nor yet would that cloud of verdicts have rendered them *improper* objects of his majeſty's clemency, if ſuch verdicts, though *legal*, were yet *oppreſſive*, *cruel*, or *unjuſt*.

Murder, Mr. URBAN, perhaps is the *fouleſt* crime of which mankind can be guilty. It is the moſt dreadful violation of the firſt right of civil ſociety, its ſafety; the greateſt *poſſible* injury to the murdered individual; and may be alſo the greateſt *poſſible* injuſtice and ſorrow to the intereſt and affections of his ſurviving family and friends. It muſt therefore be the primary object in legiſlation, and the moſt important duty of magiſtracy, to protect the innocent from ſuffering ſo irreparable an injury, and to puniſh in the moſt exemplary manner the perpetrators of ſo enormous a crime.

The wiſdom of the Law of England is very conſpicuous, in allowing as large and as comprehenſive an extent to the *accuſation* of *all* who can in the *remoteſt ſenſe* be deemed acceſſaries before, at, and after the fact, as the circumſtance of each particular caſe will properly admit. Becauſe the public juſtice has the cleareſt right to

be

be ſatisfied, by what *perſon* or *perſons*, and by what *means immediately* or *inſtrumentally* the crime was perpetrated.

It is therefore right, when a judicial enquiry, tending to the full detection of Murder, is inſtituted, to bring before the judicature every perſon who can in the *remoteſt* ſenſe be ſuppoſed to participate in the guilt. Becauſe with the Principal, and all ſuch accuſed acceſſaries before it, a court of juſtice can examine and decide how far they were, by their *own perſonal conſcious concurrence, really and truly* aiding and abetting in producing the Murder.

But *accuſation* is one thing, and *conviction* ſomething very different.—And the wider the ſcope of accuſation as acceſſaries to murder is extended, the more *reſtrained* and *guarded* ought the *terms* and *conditions* of conviction to be in their legal eſtabliſhment; becauſe, if the utmoſt reſerve and caution, with reſpect to the conviction of acceſſaries, are not *firmly* eſtabliſhed, and *conſcientiouſly* regarded, a tribunal of juſtice, with a number of accuſed acceſſaries before it, in puniſhing one murder may commit Twenty. And it is a Rule never to be forgot, that of *all* Murders thoſe are the *moſt atrocious* in which the Law itſelf is a principal, and juries are drawn in to be acceſſaries; becauſe the juſtice of the Nation is involved in the guilt. Many ſuch murders, *in due form of law*, were perpetrated in the *Plotting* part of Charles the Second's reign, and in the *Rebellion* part of his ſucceſſors.

It ſhould always be remembered, that the more remote from the immediate act of the Principal (and *without* a Principal there *can be* no Acceſſary) in *time*, *place*, or *relation*, the aid or concurrence of the acceſſary is charged to be, the greater caution

caution and *preciſion* of evidence becomes neceſſary to his conviction. Becauſe in every degree of *remove* from the principal, the degree of *guilt* leſſens in the acceſſary; whoſe relation to the principal, and his act, may become complicated with a vaſt variety of circumſtances, which may greatly extenuate his guilt, or even reduce it to *mere error*.

There could not, Mr. URBAN, *poſſibly* be a more fruitful ſource of oppreſſion, injuſtice, and tyranny, than the arbitrary principle on which, by pretended conſtruction of Law, one man's *act*, through the fouleſt trick of chicanery, may be explained to imply another man's *guilt*. In caſes of Treaſon, or of offences immediately againſt the Crown, when this mode of conviction prevailed, its injuſtice was generally admitted:—Yet when common felonies happen to become objects of factious proſecution, there can be no doubt but the moſt enormous exceſſes of this mode of conviction would be even applauded, if the wiſdom and moderation of the preſent truly worthy adminiſtrators of juſtice would allow the practice.

In times when this abominable proſtitution of juſtice prevailed, a man, a *common* man, *unlettered* as he might be, had not only to attend to the reſtrictions of Law upon his *perſonal* conduct, but he was alſo *ſuppoſed* to conceive what it was impoſſible he ſhould conceive, the various *involvements of guilt* into which he might be drawn by his *innocent* connections with other men.

"Let there be no record of Blood, (ſays Lord Bacon) nor ſentence of capital crimes paſſed in Court, but upon *known* and certain *Laws*. God himſelf firſt *pronounced* and afterwards *inflicted* Death. Nor ſhould a man *loſe* his life, without

 firſt

firſt *knowing* that he had *forfeited* it."—*Bacon's Doctrine of univerſal Juſtice*, Aphoriſm 39.

Guilt is the conſciouſneſs of a man's having acted wickedly.—That only is the act of a man, to which guilt or innocence can be imputed, to the doing of which he is conſcious of the concurrence of his own will. Convince him by plain and poſitive proof, that he *wilfully* and *deliberately* took away a man's life, or that he *wilfully* and *deliberately concurred* with thoſe that did, and you convict him of guilt as Principal or Acceſſary. 'Tis his *conſciouſneſs alone* of the *act*, or the *concurrence* that renders him liable to the *conviction* of Guilt.

Men may be impowered by Law to take away lives upon any pretence, or upon any allegation that the *ſupreme power* pleaſes to authorize, or ſuffers to be eſtabliſhed by cuſtom; and in deſpotic Governments Magiſtrates are ſo empowered. But this will not be putting Men to *death* becauſe they are *guilty*, but becauſe they are *arbitrarily commanded* to death by a power which they cannot repel. And if ten Parliaments were to concur with twenty Popes in ordaining, that one *man's Guilt* might neceſſarily be included in another *man's act*, in which he never *wilfully* concurred, ſuch *ordaining* might add *force* and *ſecurity* to the *power* of *execution*, but it could impart neither *juſtice* to the arbitrary ſentence, nor *conviction* of *guilt* to the oppreſſed ſufferer.

Happy is it,—happy has it *long* been for England, that the adminiſtration of the laws is, and has been entruſted to as wiſe, as humane, and as equitable Judges as ever appeared in any country, to diſcharge the firſt duties of Magiſtracy.

Yet ſurely, Mr. URBAN, there wants both plainneſs and preciſion in our criminal proceſſes. Read over

over the indictment of the Chairmen, and try if you can reconcile to common ſenſe, and to the *plain, obvious meaning* of the words which form the charge againſt them, any *moral* relation whatever, which the *indictment* has to the *evidence* which was given in the courſe of the trial, or to the *verdict* by which it was concluded. Find out, if you can, *any meaning* which the *indictment can* have in reſpect to the *ſuppoſed* conviction, except what it derives from an *inhuman ſophiſtry*.

"The Laws, ſays M. De Monteſquieu, ought not to be *ſubtle*; they are deſigned for people of *common underſtandings*, not as an *art* of *Logic*, but AS THE PLAIN REASONS OF A FATHER OF A FAMILY." *Spirit of Laws*, vol. ii. p. 343.

How juſt, how noble are theſe ſentiments! How does their dignity ariſe out of their ſimplicity! And I cannot but add, how *peculiarly* and *importantly* are theſe plain truths applicable to our jury conſtitution, which never can approach within *ſight* of *perfection*, until a far greater degree of plainneſs, ſimplicity, and preciſion, obtain in our civil and criminal proceſſes.

I am drawn on, Mr. URBAN, by my ſubject, to ſpeak on the equity, *ſimple* and *obvious*, which *ought* to prevail in the proceedings and deciſions of all trials in capital caſes.—I neither know, nor *pretend* to know any thing of Law, or to judge of its proceedings, any further than they are *open* and *obvious* to common obſervation.—As a plain common man,—as a juryman, if you pleaſe,—I endeavour to *learn* and *apprehend* what is *right*, merely that I may *act* what is *juſt*.

It may however be ſaid, that I am wanting in reverence to the Laws. In general I hold them in eſteem, eſpecially as they have been adminiſtred, with very few exceptions, ever ſince the Revolu-

tion.—Yet I cannot but conceive there is apparently greater merit in the *mildneſs* of the *adminiſtration*, than in the *ſpirit* and *conſtitution* of the Laws themſelves.—Perhaps what has been obſerved of all civil conſtitutions, may be as juſtly applicable to our Laws as to any other,—That they are too *weak* for the *ſtrong*, and too *ſtrong* for the *weak*. And if they chiefly err in the *laſt* particular, as it ſeems to me they *do* in their *penal effect*, 'tis ſurely erring *moſt* on the *worſt* ſide; and therefore the great merit of the judges we have ſo long been bleſſed with, has conſiſted in *moderating* and *reſtraining* the ſeverity of penal proſecutions, as their greateſt fault *would* have been the execution of penal laws in their *full rigour*.

Yet after all the ſoftening our penal laws have received from the diſtinguiſhed humanity of a ſucceſſion of Judges, (with very few exceptions) I cannot but think their effects are ſtill *much* too bloody.—I never can revere *any Power* which *exalts* itſelf by the *depreſſion* of humanity and truth.

The Goſpel allows me a right of *private judgment* on its doctrines and precepts; and the Law ſhall not reſtrain my *application* of *that right* to its inſtitutions and practice.

Forty years are ſcarcely paſt, ſince by the Statute Law of England, with all its pretenſions to wiſdom, *any* poor old Woman, with one black Cat, —two blear eyes —and three or four ſpiteful ſuperſtitious neighbours, might have been moſt *logically* convicted, and moſt *legally* hanged, on a charge of doing that which *no* old Woman ſince the creation ever *could do*; though *one* old Woman of a King, beginning at the wrong end, was pleaſed *firſt* to *condemn* the imaginary fact as very *criminal*, and *then* to perſuade himſelf it was alſo

very

very *practicable*.—If the act which repealed all the laws againſt Witchcraft, *really* cancelled both from the Statutes, the practice, and the Book, *all* they contained of nonſenſe, oppreſſion, chicane, and cruelty, it certainly was the moſt *wonder-working* act which ever paſſed from the two houſes to the throne.

I ſhall, Mr. URBAN, cloſe my remarks on the Trial, and conclude the few general obſervations theſe remarks drew me in to make, in the words of the moſt celebrated writer I have more than once cited.

"A Judge, ſays the incomparable Lord Bacon, ſhould prepare his way to a juſt ſentence, after the example of God, by *raiſing* Valleys and *levelling* Hills: So when an *high hand* appears on either ſide, by a *Virulent Proſecution*, STRATAGEMS, Combination, Power, great Patronage, Diſparity of Counſel, &c. the virtue of a Judge appears in bringing *all to an equality*, that he may found his judgment as upon level ground; Judges ſhould avoid *hard Conſtructions*, and *ſtrain'd inferences*; for there is no worſe *Torture than the Law upon the Rack*. Eſpecially in *penal Laws*, let them be careful that thoſe meant for *Terror be not turn'd into Rigour*, and ſo bring upon the People that ſhower, of which the Scripture ſays, '*it ſhall rain Snares upon them.*' *For penal Laws executed in their Rigour, are like a ſhower of ſnares upon a people.*——Judges in Capital cauſes, ſhould, as far as the Law allows, *in the midſt of Judgment remember Mercy*, and caſt a ſevere eye upon the *offence*, but an eye of Mercy upon the *offender*." —*Bacon's Eſſay on the Moral Duty of a Judge.*

I have examin'd the Trial of the Chairmen as fully and as accurately as I am able, with *no other view* than to give my honeſt deluded Countrymen

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the fulleſt conviction they can require, that if this trial had been *fairly* repreſented, none but the *avowed enemies* of Truth—of Humanity—of the Public honour—could pretend to doubt, I do not *barely ſay* the *propriety* of the Pardon, but the *indiſpenſable neceſſity* of its operation. For the Laws of Juſtice and Mercy are too ſacred and important to be ſacrific'd to the wild importunity of factious frenzy.

Junius, *who never lies*, has aſcribed the Pardon to the counſel and interceſſion of the Duke of Grafton. If this is true—and *who can doubt* the *Veracity* of Junius?—his Grace has merited by it very highly of his Country. "One humane or a mere well-natured deed,"—founded too on the ſtricteſt regard to juſtice, will *gain* the Miniſter more eſteem with wiſe and good men, than he ever *loſt* with ſuch, by the unſupported accuſations of ten ſuch writers as Junius.

In ſaying this, I ſpeak no more than the plain ſentiments of a *private* man on a *public* Character. —The Duke does not know there is ſuch a man in the world, as the *writer* of this letter; nor yet does *he*, or any one *perſon* in the moſt diſtant *connection* with him, *know*, that there is ſuch a letter now writing; nor is the defence of his Grace, or of Sir W. B. P. as to the part he had in the cauſe of the chairmen, the inducement with *me*, to ſet that cauſe in its *true* light. Sir W. B. is alſo a *perfect ſtranger* to me, except that I juſt know him by ſight—nor does that Gentleman, or any perſon in the moſt diſtant connection with him, know or even ſuſpect that any ſuch letter as the preſent is now writing.—*All* theſe aſſertions, Mr. URBAN, are *ſtrictly* and *literally true*.—A man who would aſſert a *falſhood*, under the ſhelter of a borrowed ſignature, muſt be a *Raſcal* in his

proper

proper perſonal *character*.—A Raſcal !—he muſt be a Demi-Junius !—a word in its *full* import, newly adopted by the Engliſh Language, to expreſs a complex idea of the moſt ſuperlative degree of Raſcality and Impudence, united in *writing*, with Billingſgate *Sentiments*, in ſmooth and courtly *language*.

If either the Duke of G. or Sir W. B. P. are *defended* in this letter, it happens incidentally ; and only becauſe *Truth* vindicates *thoſe* whom *Falſhood* had ſlander'd ; and becauſe in the inſtance we have been conſidering, their general conduct to be vindicated needed only to be fairly repreſented.

But it is *not* as an advocate for the perſonal conduct of Gentlemen, to whom I ſtand in *no manner of relation*, of Friendſhip, of Acquaintance, of duty, of gratitude, of intereſt, or by any other attachment,—that I have conſum'd ſome time, and much ink, in the foregoing part of this Letter, but 'tis a due regard to *myſelf*, to my own *proper intereſt*, as a *Man*,—as a *Member of Society*,—as a *Briton*,—which has put me upon examining the validity of this pretended grievance.

I write, Mr. URBAN, merely as *one* of the vaſt Multitude that *muſt* partake of that *overwhelming ruin*, into which the ſenſeleſs unmeaning *Faction* of the preſent time is *precipitating* this unhappy Country.

Theſe great and radical evils ;—a National Debt beyond all *poſſibility* of ſupporting thro' all the exigencies to which the ſtate *cannot but* be expos'd—the loſs of Foreign Trade—Election and P—m—t—y corruption ; and, to ſum up all the *real* grievances of Britain in *one*—the total, or *nearly* total, *extinction* of all Principle, Religious —Moral

—Moral—Civil—to make room for the ſole admittance of that moſt *corrupt*, *ſordid* * Avarice, which is the true characteriſtic ſpirit of the times ——Theſe, I ſay, are ſuch diſtempers, rooted in the prevailing manners, and preying upon the foundation of Government, as can hardly fail of themſelves, in time, to effect our Conſtitutional deſtruction.

* Since Avarice has more than once been ſuggeſted as the prevailing ſpirit of the times, in the Letter-writer's opinion, it may not be improper to explain the *ſenſe* in which he conceives it to be ſo.

Avarice, in its moſt ſimple and immediate idea, is an inordinate inſatiable deſire of obtaining wealth; and in that ſenſe, and in that ſenſe *only*, it is the prevailing ſpirit of the times. But if the idea of Avarice is extended to comprehend ſuch an accumulation or hoarding of wealth, as implies thriftineſs, as oppoſed to profuſion, ſuch an avarice is by no means a characteriſtic of the preſent age. 'Tis the avarice not of a *miſer* but of a *prodigal*; not the deſire of money to *hoard*, but to *ſpend*, which marks the humour of our days, and conſtitutes the ruling paſſion; hoarding is in general the laſt uſe to which money is intended to be put.

The ſwiftly encreaſing refinement prevailing in the manners and in the modes of living through all ranks of people; the vaſt improvement, and the daily encreaſing diverſity, in all the arts adminiſtring to the demand of luxury and elegance; the voluptuouſneſs of public diverſions and entertainments; the Pride of Rank, by which every family throughout the community is inſtigated to equal or ſurpaſs in ſplendor thoſe in rank next above them; the vain-glorious abſurdity of a worſe than frivolous education *univerſally* prevailing, by which even the boys of tradeſmen aſpire to be petits-maîtres; and the girls of this claſs, who thirty years ago were learning plain-work and paſtry, are befooling away their parents money, and their own time, in tickling a harpſichord, and ſqueaking Italian:—Theſe, and the like vanities, *in the* WANTS *and* DESIRES *ariſing from them*, induces an avarice inſatiable, an avarice indefatigable, an avarice which neither civil, moral, or religious obligations can moderate or reſtrain, in its ſearch and ſeizure of every poſſible means to ſupport a *boundleſs* PRODIGALITY.

But

But theſe maladies, ſo deſperate in their cure, under the moſt *lenient* treatment, become altogether *incurable* by the inveteracy of party rage; ſo ſottiſhly employed in puſhing on to a dreadful criſis thoſe *evils*, whoſe ordinary ſlowneſs in producing their laſt fatal effects, would with wiſe and temperate oeconomy leave room for the *poſſibility* at leaſt of two mighty auxiliaries in all Political atchievements, Time and Chance, to ſave the ſtate from that *total* deſtruction, to which it is now *precipitated* by the undiſcerning fury of Faction.

In the preſent diſtreſſed ſtate of the Public,—Temper and Union, *indiſpenſably* neceſſary to any efficacious meaſures of Government, are entirely wanting.

'Tis not this or that Faction, but *Faction itſelf*, that in the preſent ſtate of Britain is ſo threatening to its ſafety:—It is for this reaſon, that Government, if it regards its own preſervation,—that the People of England, if they regard their proper intereſt,—ſhould reſolutely join in ſuppreſſing Faction, under *whatever* form it appears, or with *whatever* artifice or pretence it pleads to be heard.

The *head of a Faction* is a *public Enemy*, and the moſt formidable enemy Great Britain, under its preſent circumſtances, can poſſibly have. The more contemptible, ignorant, and baſe, ſuch brainleſs head may be in himſelf, the *fitter tool* he becomes to work *efficaciouſly* in the intereſt of the Leaders, and to gratify the *reſentment* of the rabble of his Faction. Tyler, Sacheverel, W—s, fully illuſtrate this remark.

I have attempted, Mr. URBAN, to remove by ridicule the faſcinated ſtupid attachment which the *meer multitude* of my countrymen have to the

Hero of St. George's Fields. The wiſe and *honeſt* among his adherents, and many ſuch there undoubtedly are, will find *their* cure when *Time* has brought them into *Temper*.—The wiſe and *intereſted* will find *their peace*, when the all-prevailing force of Faction has *raiſed them* to Power and Wealth.

In the mean time, poor fooliſh W—— is ſo manifeſtly the *Dupe* to the *intereſt* of ſome, to the *fears* and *jealouſies* of others, to the *clamours* and *ill humour* of the mob, that it is impoſſible, without an abuſe and degradation of common ſenſe, to ſpeak of him in any other than the ſtile of ridicule and contempt. The man—his cauſe —his grievances—his merit—his parts—his morals—his patriotiſm—and his politics, are all *beneath* any other kind of treatment.

But perhaps, Mr. URBAN, you may object, "If you really think this man ſo *contemptible*, why do you ſometimes ſpeak of him with ſo much *aſperity* and *anger*, as ſhews him to be, at *thoſe* times, of ſome *conſideration* in your Reſentment? Don't this look like the inconſiſtent ill humour of a ſpiteful man, thwarted in his prejudices, or obſtructed in his intereſt?" I am ready to confeſs the truth of ſo much of this remark, as conſiders me in the light of an *adverſary* to Mr. W—— and his faction: I will own too, my enmity ariſes intirely from the *impoſſibility*, as I apprehend it, that *his* cauſe can *ſucceed* without the *deſtruction* of my intereſt.

But then, it is not *my* intereſt in a Party, in a Place, or in a Penſion, that can be affected by Mr. W——'s ſucceſs, or by the eſtabliſhment of his Faction; for in Party, Place, or Penſion, I have *no intereſt at all*.

But

But when I am told, that a Gentleman—a *Member of P———t*—from a printing-preſs ſet up by *himſelf* in *his own* houſe, may treat Chriſtianity as an Impoſture, and *yet* be a Patriot:—When I am told, that in the *ſame paper* in which the Religion of his Country is *burleſqued* and *blaſphemed*, the *groſſeſt Lewdneſs* is delineated with the moſt *enticing* allurements the *little wit* of the author could give it, and *yet* the *Printer* of this *too*, is a Patriot:—When I am told not only that this *elegant Printer* of *Blaſphemous Bawdy*, but even the profligate *Debaucheé*, whoſe *life* has been devoted to the *practice* of the groſſeſt immoralities, and to the *perſevering commiſſion* of thoſe *crimes* and *vices* he ſet his *printing-preſs* at work to *celebrate*, may, notwithſtanding *all this*, be an *excellent* Patriot:—When, to ſum up all the *horrors* and *abſurdities* of modern Patriotiſm in one Civil Blaſphemy, I am told, what Machiavel himſelf would have *bluſhed* to aſſert under a *free popular* Government, that *all* the complicated *vices* of the moſt *profligate private* Character do not *diſqualify* the *criminal* for *public truſt*, but that *he ſtill* may ſhine forth an illuſtrious *Patriot*:—When, I ſay, ſuch direful menaces are declared and admitted,—ſuch *deſtructive* engines are *levelled* and *diſcharged* by a *deſperate Faction* againſt Religion and Moral Virtue, thoſe Bulwarks of the Britiſh Conſtitution;—it is a call upon *me*, and upon *every man* who values his Freedom, his Religion, or his Virtue;—the *ſafety* of his Property, or the *peace* of his Conſcience;—to *ſtand up* and *reſolutely declare* his *abhorrence* of ſuch a *Patriot* and ſuch a *Cauſe*—a *Cauſe* againſt which Government, whoſe firſt and moſt important duty it is to preſerve Moral Order, *ought* to be *joined* and

ſupported by every Independant, Social, Moral, Religious Man in the Kingdom.

[Becauſe MORAL ORDER is the *only* baſis on which the Britiſh Conſtitution *can* be eſtabliſhed in laſting ſecurity; its foundation *has* no other—*can have* no other—enduring ſubſtance.

Every ſocial obligation,—every *civil truſt* ariſing from that Conſtitution, reſts *entirely* for its efficacy upon the conſcientious diſcharge of ſome moral duty. The Civil obligation is conſtitutionally brought home to *that* principle; there it reſts; conſtitutional powers extend no further. Principles of another, of a nobler Order, then become charged with the protection of public Liberty, and the propagation of public happineſs. And theſe are neceſſarily—by *Conſtitutional* neceſſity, *limited* or *extenſive*,—*proſperous* or *debaſed*,—*ſecure* or *endangered*,—as HUMANITY, the firſt and moſt natural principle of civil union among creatures, conſtantly ſurrounded and oppreſſed by wants, weakneſs, and miſeries; as INTEGRITY in the faithful diſcharge of civil duties, and of *delegated* powers; as BENEVOLENCE, under the name of Public Spirit; as SOBRIETY, with all the vaſtly *important* moral virtues and civil benefits inliſted under the banner of * TEMPERANCE;—prevail in *general*—prevail but *in part*—or *ceaſe* to prevail at all.

Patriotiſm—Love of our Country—Glory—Honour—Liberty—Conſtitution—Magna Charta

* See, in Lord Shafteſbury's Moraliſts, a very noble and highly finiſhed draught of the Moral and Civil benefit of Temperance. It has always appeared to me as the maſterpiece of his very elegant pencil. If any reader who is a man of taſte, has not yet obſerved its beauties, he will thank me for referring him to it.

—Bill

—Bill of Rights—Privileges—when Moral Order is *nearly* extinguiſhed, are but ſounds without ſenſe, which Knaves rattle in the ears of Fools; that by making their heads giddy, they may pick their pockets with the greater ſecurity, and to the fuller effect.

Thoſe principles which form an humane, honeſt, candid, ſober character, *and thoſe alone*, under the Britiſh Conſtitution, form a Patriot; as it means a true friend to the Liberty and Happineſs of his Country. Every *fixed practical* deviation from theſe principles, is *undermining*;—every attempt to eſtabliſh an opinion of Patriotiſm, in which theſe principles are *diſregarded*, is direct *Treachery* to the Britiſh Conſtitution.

It is a truth, and in a moral ſenſe a very important one, that under every government, however deſpotic, the terms, *good* man—*good* citizen—are never juſtly applied but to the man of virtue.—But under Governments deſpotic, or approaching to deſpotiſm, the merit of moral virtue is perſonal, domeſtic, oeconomical. The public ſyſtem, far from deriving ſtrength from the principles of moral order, has an intereſt in their ſuppreſſion; becauſe ſuch governments, relying for their ſupport, not on the free concurrence of the will, but on ſuch *obedience* and *ſubmiſſion* in their ſubjects, as they are, by the civil eſtabliſhment, *impowered* to *conſtrain*; cannot but regard every application of moral freedom in judging of civil inſtitutions, and every pretence of moral order to be a principle of civil duty, as ſo many direct attacks on their deſpotic authority. Terror, not duty, is the Spirit of ſuch Conſtitutions.

But under a Government like the Britiſh, founded in Reaſon, and protected by Conſcience, juſt

juſt the reverſe of this happens: Duty, Moral Duty, not Terror, is the ſoul of the Conſtitution.

Every man, from the *confidence* which the Conſtitution has in *his ſenſe* of this duty, *and from that alone*, is intruſted with the inſtitution of his own manners, and with the preſervation of his own, and in his own of the Public, Liberty.

Freedom of *thinking*, properly ſpeaking, no power on earth can controul, becauſe it cannot be made ſubject to any civil conſtitution: but freedom of ſpeech—of writing—of action, which inliſt the man in the great band of Society, and enrol him a Citizen, may be controuled, ſeverely controuled, by civil power; and it is from the high or moderate degree of controul impoſed by power on theſe faculties, in their reſpective operations, that the various degrees of liberty, high or low, under different governments, take their riſe.

Some controul, civil or perſonal, legal or conſcientious, *muſt* operate, to reſtrain the various unſocial exorbitances of human paſſions, or elſe Society muſt diſband, and anarchy prevail. Civil aſſociation neceſſarily implies in its eſtabliſhment, ſuch controul, ſuch reſtrictions, on the ſelfiſh and vicious exceſſes of human paſſions, *effectually* to operate, either by a dread of civil power, or a prevailing ſenſe of moral duty, for its protection and ſupport,—for its very exiſtence.

Conſcience, the nobleſt principle of Civil Order, is, to the immortal *Honour* of the British Constitution, relied on, confided in, *ſolely* confided in, as the baſis of civil union, as the ſource of moral order.

Freedom of ſpeech, of writing, of action, unreſtricted by power, to the degree they are with us in Britain, neither *are*—or conſiſtently with the

peace

peace and *order*—with the *exiſtence* of Society, *can* be intruſted to all, without a full confidential reliance on a prevailing ſenſe of duty, by which every individual included in the freely conſtituted community, from principles of moral order, will concur to preſerve the public peace, protect the public liberty, and promote the public good. As *Power* is remitted, *Conſcience* muſt prevail, or *Anarchy*, by an *inevitable neceſſity*, will enſue.

And as the freely conſtituted government of Britain is *then*, and *then only*, healthy, proſperous, ſecure, when the ſenſe of MORAL ORDER is diffuſed, animating, operating, through the ſeveral ranks and ſtations of the people; moral order itſelf depends, *entirely and abſolutely depends*, for its general and effectual operation, on the general prevalency of *Religious belief*.

In ſaying this, it is very far from my intention to decide upon any peculiar merit, among that multiplicity of Creeds and forms under which, with us in England, Religious belief is inculcated by its ſeveral doctors, or outwardly expreſſed in its ſeveral modes and Rituals; and ſtill leſs is it my diſpoſition to become a champion for *any one* mode, in zealous defiance of all the *reſt*. My argument, which defends the *important rights* of *all*, intermeddles not with that real or ſuppoſed pre-eminence claimed by *each* ſect.

Religious Belief I conſider not as a Sectary, but as a Citizen; becauſe its vaſt importance,—its ſingular, peculiar, deciſive importance to the Britiſh Conſtitution, ariſes from this,—That it is the ONLY POSSIBLE SOURCE *of moral order* to the PEOPLE.

Chriſtianity, under its moſt *comprehenſive idea*, is that Syſtem of Religious belief—I don't content myſelf

myſelf with ſaying, which is *adopted* and *ſupported* by the Britiſh Conſtitution, but—which is ſo *inherently combined* with that Conſtitution, and, as the *only ſource of Moral Order* to the *People*, ſo *vitally united* with its firſt principles, that it cannot be extinguiſhed or withdrawn, without the *total extinction* of the Conſtitution itſelf.

But it is not a rigid uniformity in any of the *peculiar* modes, or an implicit aſſent to the *peculiar* creeds and confeſſion of any ſect, or party, which can be the juſt object of ſuch a Government as the Britiſh, by Laws and penalties rigorouſly to enforce. Directly the reverſe of this is indiſputably true.

When arbitrary or deſpotic power is the ſpirit and aim of the Rulers in the political conſtitution, a rigorous uniformity—that is, a ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion of the right of private judgment to the impoſitions of power,—will ever be, for very obvious reaſons, one of the leading principles. Religious belief then is perverted from its proper effects on the manners of the people, to become an engine, and a very efficacious one, of State Tyranny.

But under a Conſtitution ſo gloriouſly free as the Britiſh now is; in which *Religious belief*, far from being debaſed as a tool of State Tyranny, is united, inherently united, to the Conſtitution itſelf; is cheriſhed—is defended by it, to the nobleſt of all purpoſes, as a ſource of *Moral Order* to the *People*;—the freeſt Toleration of the rights of private judgment becomes eſſential to the Conſtitution itſelf. Becauſe it is to the *free*, uncorrupted, unimpaired, *natural ſovereignty* of Conſcience, in the diſcharge of *Civil* and *Moral Duties*, that the conſtitutional power *ultimately* refers.

To

To accompliſh then the great *civil* purpoſes of *religious belief*, the defence of that belief—the defence of Chriſtianity—under its general idea; and the defence of an unreſtrained liberty of conſcience, in adopting its peculiar modes and opinions; become, to all intents and purpoſes, the defence of the conſtitution itſelf. Without Religious belief, as a ſource of Moral Order to the People, the free Conſtitution of Britain has *no* reſt—*no* baſis—*no* efficacious power to ſupport its Liberty; without a perfect freedom of Conſcience, the principles of Moral Order cannot have that ſecure abiding ſettlement in the breaſt of every man, as to become a conſtant efficacious ſource of civil and moral duties.

Theſe opinions are not the viſionary ſpeculations of a religious enthuſiaſt, or the abſtracted reveries of a cloſet politician; they are derived from Life and Manners; and for the proof of their Truth the *appeal* muſt be made to Life and Manners.

Let then any man who *knows* the world, who *obſerves* what paſſes in it, and who is *capable* of tracing thro' the miſts of party prejudices our real political evils, *many* and *great* as they are, up to their true ſource; let, I ſay, this judicious and diſpaſſionate inveſtigator try if he can ſuggeſt any *real*, *prevailing*, public *grievance*, which does not take its riſe, derive its force, and acquire its malignity, *entirely* from a *corrupted*, *vicious*, moral ſource. I will venture to declare, without fear of confutation, that in Moral depravity, *and in that alone*, under the Britiſh conſtitution, *political evil* is to be *ſought* and *found*.

When our inveſtigator is arriv'd at this point of conviction, let him pauſe until he has given his imagination its full range of enquiry; and I

will then *defy* him to ſuggeſt any *poſſible* remedies for the prevailing political evils of the preſent time, but ſuch as are grounded *entirely* on the reſtitution and re-eſtabliſhment of Moral Order, thro' the ſeveral Ranks and Claſſes of the People.

Juſt to open for inſpection, (and it is all I can do at *this* time) one *capital* civil grievance, Electioneering Corruption; in which I include *Minority* lyes, ſlander, baſeneſs, and fury; as well as *Majority* bribes, perjuries, and drunkenneſs. This evil has riſen in my time from Folly to Villainy, till by the conjunction of a moſt inveterate degree of *both*, it amounted in ſome of the warmly conteſted examples at the laſt G——l E——n to downright Frenzy; to ſuch a degree of Madneſs, that ſome of the precious *Elect* on each ſide, deſerved, on the moral principles of the Britiſh Conſtitution, a ſeven years Reſidence in Bedlam, rather than a ſeven years ſeat in P——.

Yet to prevent this evil of Electioneering Corruption, Laws upon Laws, Oaths, Penalties, and all the might of civil power, have been applied to no manner of purpoſe. Add *more* Laws, *more* Oaths, *more* Penalties, *more* Civil Power, you may thereby *load* both Candidates and Electors with the heavier weight of *wickedneſs* and *crimes*; and thus by making them ſtill worſe *men*, infallibly make them worſe *Citizens*; without contributing one jot, by legal means, to remedy *that* evil, which the *prevailing ſenſe* of Moral Honeſty *alone* can cure.

The ſame aſſertion holds true, when applied to the *higher* order of Corruption among the Great, as well as to the *baſer* kind of public Robbery, in Jobs, Contracts, Smuggling, &c.

—And

—And it alſo holds true, evidently true, in thoſe ſhifting, ſhuffling, civil plagues, of ſuch Patriotiſm, Petitioning, and Remonſtrating, as derive their malignity, in pretty equal proportions, from venality and nonſenſe.

Theſe and the like evils, the free Conſtitution of Britain has not, or can have, conſiſtently with its perfect freedom, *compulſive force enough* effectually to reſtrain; but the power of ſuch reſtraint is by the Conſtitution entruſted, confided to the operation of moral conſcience. Nothing then but the recovery of Moral Order, ſuch a recovery as to give it a current prevalency among the people, *can* remedy our great and inveterate civil evils; the prevalency of Religious belief is *alone* the means by which that *recovery* can be obtained.

If the general reſtitution of Moral Order, among a people ſo loſt to all ſenſe of religious and moral obligations, is conſidered as viſionary and impracticable, I have only *this* to ſay;—Juſt, exactly, in the ſame degree, is *every* opinion of the duration of the Britiſh Conſtitution, *viſionary* and *impracticable*. Public Calamity *might* have done *much* toward reſtoring the people to a ſenſe of religious and moral duty: But—thanks to the ſenſeleſs Faction of W——s and Liberty!—they have ſo diſunited the people, ſo exaſperated their paſſions, ſo confirmed the corruption of their morals, both by MAXIMS and EXAMPLES,—ſo diſtracted their poor brains with a ſtupid jargon of Freedom,—and above all, ſo *perfectly eſtranged* them to all civil juriſdiction and obedience, that the firſt Public Calamity can hardly fail, humanly ſpeaking, to bring on the EXPIRING PANG of the BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

I do not abſolutely deny the *poſſible* exiſtence of a philoſophic morality, tolerably adapted to the purpoſes of civil Order, which a *few abſtracted contemplative* men may believe and practice, on principles which do *not* admit of *any* Religious belief. I own I ſhould be terribly puzzled to form ſuch a ſyſtem, without falling into the *groſſeſt* abſurdities, notwithſtanding all the light and aſſiſtance I could receive from * M. Bayle, the moſt ſubtle and the moſt able of all ſceptics. I am however willing to admit the *poſſibility* of ſuch a ſyſtem in ſpeculation, and to allow, that in ſome inſtances it may ſupply principles of conduct not repugnant to civil order.

But in the firſt ſtep I ſet on religious ground, the induſtrious cultivation of Moral Order becomes the firſt object to excite my admiration. And therefore I am very ready to admit, that on the *pureſt* principles of a *conſcientious* Deiſm, ſuch a ſyſtem of morality may be founded, and ſuch a practice of moral duties may be perſonally inſtituted, as with men of refined and liberal underſtandings *may* accompliſh all the purpoſes of Moral Order *conſtitutionally* required.—I proceed ſtill further in candour, and very ſincerely acknowledge, I ſhall find it *impoſſible* to refuſe my eſteem and veneration to a conſcientious, candid, moral Deiſt, as a *religious*, and even as a *pious* man.

But then theſe *rare* examples are nothing to the body of the people. Neither Philoſophic or Deiſtic Morality can be, can *poſſibly* be of any import to *them*. This aſſertion is ſo obviouſly right, that it is impoſſible to raiſe a doubt as to its truth; and I cannot be ſaid to *deny* that which no man is mad enough to affirm.

* Reflections on a Comet.

If then the Britiſh Conſtitution reſt *entirely* for its exiſtence, and depend *altogether* for its genuine uncorrupted operation, on the prevailing habits of Moral Order among the people; if Moral Order is the *ſole, animating, determining Spirit of its Laws*, as is manifeſtly the caſe; and if in the nature of things, Moral Order *can* have no permanent ſolid foundation among the *People*, but that which it derives from *Religious Belief*, which is equally manifeſt; it then neceſſarily follows, that undermining the national Religious Belief, (i. e. Chriſtianity under its moſt comprehenſive idea) is undermining the Conſtitution itſelf; and that treating this Religious Belief with blaſphemous Ridicule, as an impoſture, by the *deliberate premeditated* act of PRINTING, is treating by an *inevitable* conſequence the Britiſh Conſtitution, (which, trac'd to the bottom, will be known to ſtand on no other baſis) as founded on a CHEAT. And thus the Conſtitution is *deprived* of its moſt animating active principle; the Laws are *depriv'd* of their moſt extenſive effect, by their loſs of the important aid of Moral Conſcience; and the executive power of Government is *depriv'd* of the *only* effectual means, *intruſted to it* by the Conſtitution, of preſerving in its dignity that Civil juriſdiction, on which all ſubordination, ſecurity, and peace among the people *entirely* depend.

This reaſoning is ſo manifeſtly, ſo importantly true, that upon the full conviction both of its *truth* and *importance*, I do not heſitate to affirm—That whenever it is *capable* of becoming a queſtion in the H— H— of C—, —ſtill ſtronger, when it is capable of becoming *ſuch* a queſtion as to make a *diviſion*,—Whether a known, convicted Printer of Blaſphemy againſt the Public Religious belief is not, *upon the firſt and cleareſt princi-*

ples

ples of the Conſtitution, by his own act, *entirely* and *completely* DISQUALIFIED, DISABLED for the Repreſentative truſt,—is not under a perfect IMPOSSIBILITY of admiſſion, without the excluſion of Conſtitutional principles:—Whenever, I ſay, ſuch a queſtion can obtain credit enough in the H—— H—— of C—— to make a *reſpectable* diviſion;—it is a plain and obvious indication, that the Conſtitution *itſelf*, deſerted thro' folly, debas'd by faction, or betray'd by venality, is ſapped to its foundation, is tottering to its fall, and that univerſal ANARCHY is making ſpeedy approaches to triumph in its deſtruction.

Let all ſuch as entertain any doubt of the Conſtitutional truth of theſe remarks, reflect and examine, whether they can ſuggeſt *any* civil principle whatever on which the free Conſtitution of Britain *can* ultimately rely, for the *ſufficiency* of its government to retain civil ſubordination, and preſerve public peace; for the *defence* of its freedom; and for the *expulſion* of venality and faction, its deadly, inbred, inveterate maladies; except *that alone* which is induced by a prevailing ſpirit of Moral Order; which, with the People, can only ariſe from Religious Belief.

Government *muſt* have much more reſtrictive and compulſive force intruſted to its adminiſtration, than is conſiſtent with the perfect freedom of the Conſtitution:

Or Government *muſt* be ſuſtained, invigorated, defended by the *ſpeedy reſtitution* of Moral Order among the People, through all their claſſes:

Or *Univerſal Anarchy will inevitably* enſue.—Never was delay attended with more danger. Let every Britain look to his *own* intereſt,—his *own* Property,—his *own* Liberty,—his *own* Religion,—his *own* Virtue, and then let him *ſeriouſly* reflect

reflect on the *inſtant* danger to which *all* are expoſed, in that ſtate of trepidation in which the public ſafety is at this time ſuſpended.

All ſenſe of Moral Order *nearly* extinguiſhed among the People, *they* are become, the lower ranks of them in particular, fit tools for every miſchief, folly, or madneſs, which a miſchievous, a fooliſh, a mad, a revengeful, or an intereſted popular leader may put them upon attempting.

Upon the almoſt total extinction of Morals, Religion, Conſcience, Principle, Duty, among the *higher Ranks* of *all* Parties; the People, who *feel* themſelves impoveriſhed, and in want, while in high Life, every exceſs of profuſion, luxury, gaming, and debauchery is *ſeen*, *known*, and even *ſeen*, to be ſupported at *their expence*; can have *no* confidence in, *no* reliance upon, thoſe *confounders in Riot*, of that wealth which is extorted from their labours, and accumulated from their miſeries and wants.

Party will confide in many among the great, to ſerve the *purpoſes* of party; Prudence can confide but in *few*, *very* few indeed, to ſerve the purpoſes of Public good.

Thus with a People, by the defect of Moral Order, *incapable* of rule and ſubordination; with the higher Claſſes of *all* ranks and parties, *little worthy* of confidence, thro' the ſame prevailing defect of Moral principles; what Conſtitutional power, what authority, what influence, *is* Government poſſeſs'd of, equal to the *immediate neceſſity* there is to reduce the prevailing civil chaos to ſome order; or, at leaſt, to ſtop it from running into ſtill greater confuſion?

"Change the Miniſtry, ſays a Patriot, and that will do the buſineſs at once."—*Your buſineſs*, Mr. Patriot, ſuch a change may do *effectually*; but

but what aſſurance can you give the Public, that *they* ſhall be benefited by the change? Every change of Miniſtry is on many accounts, a real grievance; on more accounts than many Patriots heads would be able to conceive; and, unleſs it is very evident the change will be from a very *bad* to a very *good* one, the *charge* to the Public, as the goers-out and the comers-in manage it between them, is more than the *change* in general is like to be worth, or can be worth.

But a Change of the *preſent* Miniſters, who by their *ſteadineſs* have *deſerved well* of their country, to take in their *opponents*, who *pretend* to *merit public truſt* by the ſupport of a principle which effectually deſtroys their juſt claim to it,—That a Printer of Blaſphemy is *not* diſqualified for Parliamentary truſt,—would be in ſome meaſure admitting as *true*, the moſt *pernicious* maxim that Government could adopt, by admitting as miniſters, thoſe men who have ſupported that deteſtable maxim by their patronage.

'Tis not a change of miniſters,—a change of men,—a change of meaſures,—but a change of MANNERS, — a reſtitution of PRINCIPLES, that the wants and miſeries of this Country ſo anxiouſly implore.

'Tis not the exchange of a Jockey D*uke* for a Jockey M*arquiſs*, nor the exchange of one Jockey for another, but the total extinction of *Jockeyſhip itſelf*, with all its *monſtrous enormities*, that the public ſafety *demands* from the Great.

I honour, my Lord D—, your parts,—your abilities,—your firmneſs in the ſervice of your country. I honour, my Lord M—, the high merit of your private character, and I reſpect the general eſteem it has attached to you, as a worthy and benevolent Engliſh gentleman. But, for God's

God's ſake, is it *poſſible either* of you can *expect* —is it not abſolutely *impoſſible either* of you ſhould *obtain*, upon the *genuine Conſtitutional Moral Principles* of the Britiſh government, the public eſteem and confidence as miniſters, when in the full obſervation of that Public, you are *falſe* to your *Fortunes*, to your *Dignities*, to your *Families*, —by a baſe proſtitution of ALL to the artifices, to the raſcality, to the ſupport of Sharpers, Bucks, Grooms, Scoundrels, and Gamblers?— Will not ſuch evil communication *infallibly* corrupt better eſtabliſhed manners than Nobility can lay claim to? And will not the Public *juſtly* infer, that if you ſpare not your *own* Fortunes and Honours from *ſuch* ſhameful abuſe; the Revenue and Honour of the Public will be laid *quite open*, while you are in power, to the rapacity of the ſame race of plunderers, without reſerve or reſtraint?

If a change of Miniſtry was to happen, how long would it be before the *new ſet* would be under the ſame condition of diſtruſt, averſion, and rancour, with the Public, as the *preſent*?— Juſt ſo long, and no longer, that the *quickeſt* ſcribbler of Grub-ſtreet, muſtering up a little wit, and ſome ſpecious arrangement of abuſe, can paſs his conceits—from his head to his paper— from his paper to the Preſs—and from the Preſs to the Public. Becauſe the *ſame* corrupt, profligate, vicious, gambling, avaritious Manners, remaining to be ſupported at the Public *Expence* in the NEW SET, as prevailed in the OLD, it is only ſaying to the Public, with ſome arch amplification, SEE! *and* BEHOLD! and all the reſt of diſtruſt and averſion juſtly follows of courſe.

Nothing but a reſtitution of *Moral Order* among the Great, can make *them* worthy of Public Truſt;

Truſt; nothing but a reſtitution of *Moral Order* among the People, can make *them* capable of *Civil Rule.*

" But if you complain, it may be objected, of thoſe who are in, and ſuſpect thoſe who are out; if you have *little* truſt in one ſet, and conceive *no* hopes of the other, pray what party are you of?"

I anſwer, " Of *The King's,*" whom I love and honour in the higheſt poſſible degree, as the head of the *ſmall, feeble, deſerted, Conſtitutional Party,* formed by *Truth, Religion, Integrity, Benevolence, Sobriety, Clemency, Moderation, Candour,* and all the Royal, Perſonal, and Social Virtues, which can engage *Affection,* merit *Confidence,* induce *Loyalty,* and command univerſal *Veneration.*

When I conſider the infamous treatment this moſt amiable and excellent Prince *has* received, and *ſtill* receives, *I abhor* to find myſelf an Engliſhman; and regret, from my heart, that I live at a period of time which muſt *diſgrace* the future pages of Hiſtory with the *blackeſt detail* of ſuch ſuſpicions, ſuch imputations, ſuch baſeneſs, ſuch indignities, ſuch ingratitude from *ſeveral* of his ſubjects, as this eminently gracious Prince never *ſhould* have received — never could have received from *any,* if the groſſeſt falſhoods had not been too ſucceſsfully employed to impoſe on the moſt *abſurd* credulity among the people.

The moſt *immediate* danger, which threatens this infatuated profligate Country, ariſes from the madneſs and virulence of Faction; and therefore the K—— could not poſſibly contribute *his ſhare* of Conſtitutional Power more to the *advantage* of his People, than by the *ſteddineſs* he has ſhewn in reſiſting its attacks, which affect alike *his* honour and *their* ſafety. They *may* be very

honeſt,

honeſt, but they are *certainly* very *weak* men, who believe that giving way to this Faction would extinguiſh Faction itſelf. If this Faction, by its *threats* or its *arts*, could *prevail* over the ſteddineſs of the K——, the *like* threats, and the *like* arts, would immediately be applied by a *new* Faction, to the *ſame* purpoſe, and with the *ſame* effect; and ſo on, in Factious ſucceſſion, till the *laſt guinea* in the Exchequer was exhauſted. For I am fully convinced of this Truth, that there will be *no* Grievances to redreſs, when there are *no* Guineas in the Exchequer to Pay for redreſſing them; and that while Guineas *do* remain in the Exchequer, redreſſing of Grievances will be a very lucrative job.

By the freedom of the Conſtitution, every man is intruſted with the inſtitution of his own civil and moral character, and with the right of adopting ſuch manners as ſeem good in his own Opinion. They muſt be very groſs deviations from Moral Order indeed, which become detectable, cognizable, and puniſhable by Law. But for the general preſervation of ſuch civil and moral order, as becomes at all times and on all occaſions indiſpenſibly neceſſary to the Union, Safety, Peace, and Well-being of Society; the Conſtitution, by its Principles of Freedom, relies,—entirely and abſolutely relies—upon the efficacious operation of Moral Conſcience; which, with the *Body of the People*, cannot poſſibly have any other abiding ſource than that which ariſes from *Religious Belief*.

If then the prevailing ſenſe of Religious Belief among the People as a ſource of Moral Order—as the *only* ſource of Moral Order; is that principle *alone* on which the Conſtitution relies in the laſt reſort for its ſecurity and effect, a deciſion in

the H—— H—— C—— *againſt* Religious Belief, in admitting to Legiſlative Rights and Privileges, a Printer of Blaſphemy reviling that Belief and treating it as falſe, would have been to all intents and purpoſes a *Deciſion againſt the Conſtitution itſelf*; and this queſtion, "Is a Printer of Blaſphemy *Capable* of being a Member of the Legiſlature?" muſt, upon the cleareſt Conſtitutional principles, be anſwered in the negative; as to give it an affirmative deciſion would amount to evident abſurdity. Becauſe, Legiſlative *duty* being neceſſarily engaged to ſupport, as the firſt and moſt important object of its inſtitution, Religious Belief, (Chriſtianity under its moſt compreſive idea) no repugnance to that *duty* could by any other poſſible means have been ſo *great*; no deſertion of that *duty* could by any other poſſible means have been ſo *complete*; no attempt to ſubvert the Conſtitution could by any other poſſible means have been ſo *direct*, as by admitting, in a Legiſlative capacity, a Printer of Blaſphemy, who had from his Preſs treated *that Religious Belief* as *impoſture*, which it was an indiſpenſible Duty enjoined by the Conſtitution itſelf, on *all* its members, to admit, confirm, and protect, as indubitable Truth. And it then follows, that the *utter rejection* of ſuch Printer—was a Duty *impoſed* on the Houſe by the Conſtitution itſelf.

If it is eſtabliſhed by this train of reaſoning as true, that to ſupport Religious Belief, is a Conſtitutional Duty of the *firſt and moſt* immediate importance; and that every meaſure which tends to ſubvert that Belief, tends in the ſame degree to ſubvert the Conſtitution, which reſts upon that foundation; it will then neceſſarily follow, that no *pretenſion* of Right, in *a ſeparate member* of that Conſtitution, can authorize

that

that member to act, as far as its power extends, to the corruption, diſhonour, or impairing of the Religious Belief, thus combined with that Conſtitution, from which alone it derives all its privileges and power.

The Right of M——x to ſend Members to P——t is a Conſtitutional right; a Conſtitutional Right of the higheſt poſſible importance; and any invaſion of the Conſtitutional freedom, or any oppreſſion in the Conſtitutional application of that right, the Conſtitutional Powers of Parliament are *bound* to reſent, and will reſent.

Whatever rights or privileges M——x has of ſending Members to Parliament, muſt *be Conſtitutional* Rights and Privileges; they, the Rights and Privileges, can have no other derivation. Derived then *ſolely* from Conſtitutional Principles, thoſe Rights and Privileges can *only* be applicable to Conſtitutional purpoſes, and ſubſervient to Conſtitutional uſes and benefits.

It would be the groſſeſt abſurdity to ſay, M—e-ſ—x *derives* from the Conſtitution, privileges *ſubverſive* of the Conſtitution; which neither *does* give, or, in the nature of things, *can* grant, Privileges incompatible with its own ſafety. M——x *is impowered* by the Conſtitution to ſend M——rs to contribute *their proportion of aid* to the *ſupport* of that Conſtitution from which they derive the Repreſentative right; but they *cannot be impowered* by the Conſtitution to contribute their *proportion of aid* to *undermine* and *deſtroy* that Conſtitution.

The Conſtitution, on its leading fundamental Principles, requires Legiſlative ſupport to Religious Belief, conſidered as a *Truth*. M——x is impowered by the Conſtitution, thus requiring, to ſend a Member to Parliament; that is, to *contribute*

tribute their proportion of *aid*, by their Member, to this *Conſtitutional purpoſe*, of ſupporting Religious Belief as a *Truth*. How is this Conſtitutional purpoſe *accompliſhed* in the application of their Right of Repreſentation by M —— x? Why, by ſending as their M——r, a Printer of Blaſphemy, who from his Preſs treated that Religious Belief as *Impoſture*.

I will not ſay the pretence to ſuch Right is Nonſenſe, and ſelf-evident contradiction *in M——x*; but I am ſure it is ſo every where elſe.

The Freeholders of M——— x, to *eſtabliſh* and *ſupport* their pretence of injury done them by the H—— of C———, in the final excluſion of their M———r, muſt prove,

1*ſt*. That they *derive* a Right from the *Conſtitution* which they may conſtitutionally *apply*, ſo far as their Repreſentative privilege extends, to the *deſtruction* of that Conſtitution, from which *alone* they derive the Right.

Or 2*d*. They muſt prove, that ſubverting Religion, (ſo far as with-holding, or miſapplying their ſhare of that ſupport which the Conſtitution requires they ſhould give to Religion,) is not deſtructive of the Conſtitution itſelf.

Or 3*d*. They muſt prove, that ſending up, as their Repreſentative, a *Printer* of *Blaſphemy*, is not, ſo far as the evil examples and influence of *one* M——— extends, ſubverſive of Religion.

Or 4*th*. They muſt prove, that their Right truſty and well-beloved R———e was not a Printer of Blaſphemy.

I have given them their choice of theſe four abſurdities to chooſe out of, for the juſtification of their charge againſt P———; and they may defend their cauſe on which they pleaſe of theſe precious principles.

The

The H—— of C——·—, with this queſtion before them, " Is a Printer of Blaſphemy, on the genuine principles of the Conſtitution, *Capable* of being admitted as a member of the Legiſlature?" had to decide at once on the moſt important civil right of the Conſtitution, and the moſt important civil and religious intereſt of their Conſtituents.

Very much plauſibility of argument would naturally be introduced, during the courſe of the debate, in favour of the admiſſion; and with a very fair *reſemblance* to truth: And this Opinion falling in with the prevailing popular humour in favour of a wild frantic adoration of the *Name* of Liberty, while its eſſence and its merit are neither valued or comprehended; it is not ſtrange that on theſe, and other motives, many very worthy judicious Gentlemen, both within the H—— and without, have declared ſo warmly for the admiſſion; nor is this judgment, miſtaken as I preſume to think it is, liable to any ſeverity of cenſure.

Yet if the H—— of C——·—, by a ſolemn deciſion, *had* admitted that a Printer of Blaſphemy *was capable of Legiſlative truſt*, they would clearly have decided *againſt* the firſt Principles of the Conſtitution;—they would have *decided*, that the defence of Religious Belief, as a ſource of Moral Order, was *not* an immediate object of their Conſtitutional duty; and in that deciſion they would have *relinquiſhed* the Parliamentary ſupport of the Principle on which alone the Conſtitution finally reſts, for the whole of its efficacy, in ruling the People; and in preſerving the Civil and Moral Oeconomy of their manners, without any violation of their Conſtitutional freedom.

For myſelf, I preſume to think, notwithſtanding the virulence of cenſure which has fallen on the

the final expulſion, that there *never was a deciſion* of the H—— of C——, founded on *ſtricter juſtice* to the principles of the Conſtitution, or on ſtronger *obligations* of *duty* to the laſting intereſt and welfare of their Contry.

The reaſons that induce this opinion, at *this* time, and on *this* occaſion, I can but barely *ſuggeſt*. There are ſeveral * objections againſt the final expulſion, which I cannot now examine, as I have already treſpaſſed much too long on the common forms of writing, in this digreſſion.

Yet I muſt not finiſh it without remarking, that two *capital errors* have greatly contributed to *miſlead* the public Opinion on this important occaſion.

The firſt of theſe errors ariſes from a want of attention to that IMMENSE IMPORTANCE which the main body of the People, and the Corruption or *purity* of their MANNERS, are of, under this *very* popular Government. With all the *uproar* for Liberty which I have remembered from General Exciſe to General Warrants, the liberty and intereſt of the main Body of the People have been *very little* regarded by any party, either in Power

* Such as,—the danger to Liberty from an aſſumed power of final expulſion;—the puniſhing twice for the ſame fault;—the want of a number of precedents full in point;—the Court influence in favour of the final expulſion;—many Members who voted for the expulſion being *themſelves as bad* as the anathematiz'd member (the truth of which as a *fact* I am by no means diſpoſed to conteſt);—the bareſaced ſophiſm of ſeparating the *man* from his *character*; by which clever trick the *man* was to be taken, and his *Character* left behind—or this other *equally* dextrous operation to a *contrary* effect, by which the man's *cauſe* was to be *retained*, and his *perſon* left to go to the devil, &c. The Man, his Character and his Cauſe, make but one Object, and muſt ſtand or fall together.

or out of it. (Witneſs Militia Laws, Game Laws, Poor Laws, Mercileſs Incloſures, Preſſing practices, and Summary ſentences) If the People can be *ſet on* to *plague* the Court at Elections; or if the People can be *bought* by Court Candidates to *deſert* the Patriots; it ſeems to be *all the concern* that either Miniſters or Patriots give themſelves about the People. Both Patriots and Miniſters are indeed *conſtrained* to confeſs the *Power* of the People, in the *appeals* they make to their prejudices, their paſſions, and their ſelf-intereſts; but very little regard is had to their general good, in their *Liberty*, their *Morals*, or their *Proſperity*; though in *theſe* are *neceſſarily* included the Proſperity and Freedom of the whole Empire of Britain.

The ſecond prevailing Error ariſes from a very partial and inadequate conception of *Religious Belief*; by regarding it, *meerly* and *ſolely*, under its *Doctrinal*, *Ritual*, and *Devotional* Modes. All the importance and all the intrinſic value of theſe modes, ariſe entirely from that *ſingleneſs*, *ſimplicity*, and ſerioufneſs of heart, with which they are believed, acknowledged, and practiſed. But this *ſingleneſs of heart* is the object of God's regard; and of his *alone*. Theſe Modes being without any *civil* relation; their merit being perſonal; and their *particular* pretenſion to indubitable Truth, in the detail, *ſomewhat* equivocal:—For all theſe reaſons—if I *muſt not* ſay, Government has *nothing* to do with them—I *may* take leave to ſay, the *leſs* it interpoſes any deciſive authority in the diſputes to which they are but too liable, the *more* it preſerves of that Spirit of Freedom, which ought to prevail through its *whole* Adminiſtration.

But though Doctrinal, Ritual, and Devotional Modes have *no* Civil relation; that *Spirit* of *Morals*, which is preserved through *all* these Modes, which is acknowledged by the Doctors of each sect, and transfus'd into the practice of their followers by the most *cogent Religious motives*—*has Civil Relation* of the highest importance to *every* society, but of very *peculiar* importance under free Governments; where, as in ours, every subject is entrusted with the institution, to a *very great degree*, of his own Manners. To preserve Religious Belief under perfect freedom of choice, thro' all its peculiar Modes, as a Source of Moral Order to the People; is *all*, or (for I would not give offence to any) *nearly* all, that Government has to do with Religious Belief: but then in this *important All* is included, All of Stability —All of Subordination—All of judicial Efficacy —All of Freedom—All of Happiness—All of Power—to which the British Constitution can *make* and *support* its true and indubitable **claim.*]

* It will appear in the sequel of this Letter, that the Writer of it did not in the least *intend* to enter upon the consideration of the final exclusion of Mr. W.—His opinion of that exclusion, if the Public thought it worth their enquiry, he propos'd to give them, fully explained, and, to the best of his judgment, vindicated from the common well-known objections, in a subsequent Letter. He has been, however, drawn in by the *peculiar circumstances of the times*, to open his opinion, and to go pretty far into his argument, under the narrow limits of the digression which the Reader has just got through.* For when this Letter had been a considerable time finish'd, and the first part of it was at the Press, a new mode of *factious declamation*, after insulting the K—— came under public detection, in the name of a R——e. This R——e amounts to a *manifest* attack upon *every man's* independance; and therefore, however improper the Letter-writer might think it to examine the grievance com-

* It is placed between brackets, beginning page 132, "Because moral Order, &c." and ends at the reference to the above note.

plain'd

I return to Mr. W——.

But, Mr. URBAN, even this *poor man*, with all his imperfections *on* his head, with all the abſurdities within his head, and with all the juſt infamy his manners have merited, is become himſelf, or to ſpeak more truly, his *Parliamentary cauſe* is become an object of importance; merely becauſe every thing is of *real* importance, which can ſtand in any manner related to the firſt principles of our free conſtitution.

plain'd of in the R——e, after declaring his intention was *not* to enter on ſuch examination in this *Letter*; and however diſadvantageous the limits of a *mere digreſſion* might be to the explaining his opinion; yet he could *not ſuffer this* his introduction to the public to paſs to their hands without a teſtimonial of his diſdain of the R——e, in the remarks he has made on the grievance it complains of. Is it poſſible for a Briton to keep *ſilent*, when his *natural* right to ſpeak for himſelf his *own ſentiments*, and his *conſtitutional* right to be repreſented through the *legal duration* of Parliament by the Member he has choſen and approves, are both uſurped by *four* or *five* unempowered gentlemen? For the common ſenſe of every *man* in the Kindom is *inſulted*, and the Conſtitutional *right* of *every elector* in the Kingdom (L——n excepted) is *invaded*, when —— and four ——, with their Livery followers, aſſume a right of declaring *every man's* ſentiments, without *knowing* what theſe ſentiments are; and then extend that aſſumed right to diſpoſe of *every Elector*'s repreſentative, without the leaſt pretence of right to diſpoſe of any *one*.

One ſingle M——r is repeatedly expelled, and even finally excluded, by the *authority* of the H— of C——, on a fair *preſumption*, *to ſay the leaſt*, that the H— has the *right* of ſuch expulſion veſted in them. This is a Grievance.—— And how is it to be redreſſed?—Why, My —— —— and Four ——, with their Livery followers, REQUIRE the K—— to cauſe an expulſion of 540 M——rs, without *the moſt diſtant preſumption of any right at all ſo to require*.—— Why then do they require it?——Becauſe it is the good pleaſure of My —— —— and Four —— that it ſhould be ſo.

Defend us, mighty Providence!
What would theſe Madmen have?
Firſt they would bribe us without pence,
Deceive us without *Common Senſe*,
And without *Power Enſlave*. DRYDEN.

I will plainly confeſs, though W—— s is "leſs than nothing," and vanity itſelf, yet the Conſtitutional Right of Repreſentation, in which his caſe is now involved, moſt juſtly entitles him to expect his *cauſe* ſhould be heard, and treated with decorum and moderation, though *he* is deſpiſed. Very wiſe and very good men, I know, think very differently on the final excluſion of Mr. W——; and on the Election of Mr. Luttrell. Very far be it from *me* to pretend to inform or to adviſe men of ſuch characters, or to decide on the merit of their arguments, but with diffidence; while I am producing the reaſons which determine my unaſſuming judgment.

If, Mr. URBAN, you think it may be worth your attention to know by what arguments my opinion was determined, on the much controverted caſe of the Middleſex Election, you may be ſatisfied by going through the following Converſation, which I had, or, what will do as well, may be *ſuppoſed* to have had towards the end of laſt ſummer with Mr. C——, the *ſuppoſed* member of Parliament for the —— of ——, in which I am a Voter.

Upon being told Mr. C—— was at the door in his chariot, I immediately aroſe to receive him; and meeting him in the Hall, I told him, a viſit ſo early after his return to his Seat in ——-ſhire did me great honour, if he had no intereſted motive in making it.

Mr. C——. Talk not of the honour, or the intereſt of the viſit; I always propoſe *pleaſure* to *myſelf* when I viſit *you.*

S. I will not examine rigorouſly, whether there is more of compliment or of ſincerity in this profeſſion: But however that may be, you ſhall not fail of *pleaſure* in *this* viſit at leaſt; for

Miſs

Miſs B—, who is ſometimes your toaſt, is on a ſummer viſit to my wife; and now ſits in poſſeſſion of the tea-table, expecting my return.

C. I adore Miſs B—.

And with that we entered the Parlour; when I introduced my Beau to the two ladies, as a freſh Gazette of News—Gallantry — Faſhion—a few articles of Scandal, and Diſſertations on Politics, to the end of the Page—of all which they ſhould have the firſt peruſal: and this intelligence, I ſaid, would give them great importance with their Country neighbours in viſits and aſſemblies, at a diſtance more than two hundred miles from London.

The tea-table *time* paſſed in tea-table *taſte*;—the Ladies, all enquiry and attention; the man of Pall Mall, the Beau informant, moſt Rhetorically communicative; till the laſt cup being turned down, the table withdrawn, and the volume of courtly and Polite intelligence gone through, the Ladies left us to the *tête-à-tête* converſation, which immediately followed.

C. 'Tis the firſt time I have ſeen Miſs B— leave a room, when ſhe left me behind her, without feeling a ſenſible regret. But at preſent I am entirely engroſſed by public Affairs. "The zeal of my Country hath eaten me up," and—

S. Then the beſt thing you can do, is to turn Patriot, and help to *eat up* your *Country* in *your turn*: I will anſwer for it, you will have the beſt meal of the two.

C. No; but I am very ſerious, and ſo full of Patriot-fire—

S. That you want to find yourſelf in ſome *ſnug corner* of Exchequer ſecurity, to *extinguiſh* it at your leiſure.—But I will be *ſerious* as well as you; and,

and, ſince you are oppreſſed with the fumes of Politics, I agree to ſtand the whole diſcharge; which, I find, is the part you intend me.—But it muſt be on the *old* terms; That I have liberty to ſpeak, not with the *courtly reſerve* of Politeneſs, but with the genuine *ſpirit*, and in the plain conſtitutional *manner* of an honeſt independent Briton, talking to his *freely choſen* Repreſentative. —If you *do* mean things, or *aſſert* baſe maxims, you muſt expect to be rebuffed, in plain coarſe language; which it *may* be *your* fault to *deſerve*, but *cannot* be *mine*, if you *do deſerve* it, to give. And you muſt further agree, that in the end, we part like old Friends and good Neighbours, whatever ill terms we may be upon during the debate.

I think it is near Thirty years, that you or one of your Mother's Family have repreſented —— in Parliament. I have always been a voter in your *intereſt*, as it is called: but by voting in *your* intereſt, I never had a view to my *own*.—None of you was ever degraded by *me* from the *dignity* of a Britiſh repreſentative, to the *dirty brokerage* of *place-begging* meanneſs, under *any* adminiſtration whatever:—As I never *procured* a vote for any of you, by oppreſſing the perfect *conſtitutional freedom* of the *loweſt* of my dependents; or ever pretended to eſtabliſh *my* merit with *your* Family or *you*, by oppreſſing *their* liberty; you muſt not wonder that acting thus, — oppreſſing *no man's* freedom of voting, and preſerving *my own*—I preſume to think, and ſpeak, with a ſpirit, and in a language unknown to the ſervility of the whole tribe, of party procurers.

C. All this I agree to.—

S. Well then, my gay Friend, open your budget.—

C.

C. Why, my Dear S—, as little as you intermeddle with Politics, you cannot but have *heard* of the Committee of Grievances and Apprehenſions, and Petitions, and———

S. Yes, I have *heard* of Grievances and Apprehenſions, and of the Committee for their Propagation.—All I am able to conceive on the ſubject,—but that I conceive *very clearly*,—is the *real Grievance* of ſetting *ſimpletons* at work to *Apprehend* for the Public. If I ſpeak thus irreverently of this worſhipful Committee, it is becauſe they do not ſeem to have ſenſe enough among them to put together three words; to fix, with meaning and preciſion, the ſtile or appellation of their Committee. For a Committee of Apprehenſions, may be a Committee of Maggots—of Whims—of Suſpicions—of Blunders—of Ignorance—of Spleen—of the Cholic—and yet be a Committee of *Apprehenſions*. For that which a man *apprehends*, however *falſe* or *fooliſh*, is *really* and *truly* his *apprehenſion* at *that* time; and if a *man*, or a *Committee*, *report* their preſent apprehenſions; what is done in *either* caſe? Why the preſent Apprehenſion is *reported*; which may be, Maggot, or Whim, or Suſpicion, or Blunder, &c. and nothing is *predicated to the contrary*, in ſtiling the *reſolution* of the *body*, a report of the Committee of Apprehenſions.

We are told by Doctor Tiſſot, (*Diſeaſes of Literary and Sedentary Perſons*, p. 42.) that M. Jurieu, the famous adverſary of the great M. Bayle, "by writing Books of Controverſy, and expounding the Apocalypſe, ſo diſordered his brain, that, tho' he thought like a man of ſenſe in other reſpects, he was *firmly perſuaded* that the ſevere fits of the *Cholic*, with which he was tormented, had been occaſion'd by a conſtant fight between *ſeven horſemen*

horſemen that were ſhut up in his bowels."—Now this was certainly M. Jurieu's *real Apprehenſion*, and as ſuch he *truly reported* it; and a very woful apprehenſion it was.—If Meſſieurs of the Mile-end Committee ſhould be ſeiz'd by a fit of the Cholic, and, in the extremity of their pain, ſhould *apprehend* the ſaid Cholic to proceed from an horrible *Maſſacre* committing within their *bellies*, on his Majeſty's *ſubjects*, who were *there* ſhut up, they might *truly report* that to be their *apprehenſion*; and a moſt tragi-comic *report* it would certainly be: But are *we oblig'd* to *believe* their *apprehenſions*, merely becauſe *they report* them?

C. Oh! ſpare my friends—and let the Petition lay by a little while on the Table.—I have much to ſay, and your opinion to aſk about myſelf.—You know, Sir, poor Sally! That dear Girl, you us'd to ſay, had too much ſenſe for a whore, with too little merit for a wife. She is in very ill health; but I cannot turn her off.—My dear little Beſſey you have not ſeen, but ſhe is a divine creature;—ſhe occupies the place in my Bed, tho' Sally is ſtill in full poſſeſſion of my heart.

S. So!—Two Ladies in keeping!

C. Now, dear S. don't look ſolemn. You are the laſt man living I would make confeſſion to of my follies, if the *Truſteeſhip* did not abſolutely oblige me to have recourſe to the power it gives you in my affairs. But, indeed, the world is not what it was when you were young. The proper accoutrements of a Man of Faſhion are greatly multiplied; beſides which, every thing is vaſtly dearer to purchaſe, and the *neceſſary expences* of a Gentleman are prodigiouſly encreaſed. I do aſſure you, it was from *theſe* conſiderations, and *merely* with a view to turn an *honeſt penny* in the way of *Trade*, that I purchas'd

Sheriffe,

Sheriffe, as true a bred horſe as ever touch'd turf; I had him for a trifle—only 400 Guineas—but I was befriended in the purchaſe. I enter'd him the laſt meeting—and came off very well;—but I had a d—n'd ill run at Betting—ſo that altogether, I can't ſay but I am a little out of the *ready*; and many Bills are oblig'd to ſtand unpaid—and—

S. So you want to raiſe more money. But before we go any further, let us recapitulate your exigencies.—Two Ladies in keeping—all expences vaſtly increas'd—your fortune diminiſh'd—a Race-horſe—and an ill run at Newmarket—Why theſe are the very *elements* of *Patriotiſm*?

Don't you find the love of your country *increaſe* in exact proportion with the *increaſe* of your expences, and the *decline* of your fortune? I have known an *ill run* at Newmarket *alone*, but then it was a *very ill run indeed*, light up the *ſacred* fire on the way *back* to Town, in a breaſt where there was not a *ſingle ſpark* of *ſuch love* when it *left* London.---I dare ſay your breaſt now glows with the extreme ardour of your deſire to receive a Thouſand Pounds a year in the ſervice of your dear Country.

C. Not *altogether* for the thouſand pounds a year.---But to ſay the truth, I have joined the *true* friends of Liberty, the ſupporters of *public virtue* in the H——— of C———. And as I have been of conſiderable ſervice in the cauſe, I am upon ſo good terms with the leaders, that on the Diſſ—n of the P———, or, if the P—— ſhould not be diſſolved, if a change of Miniſtry is brought about, of which *we*, the *true* friends of our Country, conceive great hopes, I am to have ——— ———, which you know is a good 1000l. a Year-----We muſt contrive, before I leave the

country, to raiſe ſome money for preſent demands, and then, with the additional 1000l. I hope I ſhall go on pretty well—

S. Whores — Race-Horſes — increaſed Expences—and ill Runs notwithſtanding. So then the true Friends of Liberty—*the Protectors of Public Virtue*, are, it ſeems, *themſelves to reward* their *own Virtue* out of the public Treaſure.—How greatly is the condition of Virtue improved, to the honour of the preſent age! Now Virtue is her own *Rewarder*, marvellouſly is her ſtate benefited, above what it was when Virtue was ſimply its own *Reward!*—A Devotee to Virtue, *public* and *private*, in days of *yore*, had neglect—indigence—perſecution — perhaps baniſhment — perhaps death to encounter; with no other *ſupport* under the buffetings he receiv'd;—no other *reward* within his reaſonable expectation; than the *cool complacency* he found, in contemplating his own *dignity* and *importance*, *integrity* and *wiſdom*.—But now Virtue is become her own *Rewarder*; there is a good, fat, thriving difference in her favour.—Splendid eaſy *ſtate* Coaches—Penſions—Reverſions—luxurious tables—excellent Claret—Whores—Race-horſes,—and defiance to *all* diſtreſſes from *Ill Runs* at Arthur's or Newmarket—are but *ſome* of the good things ſhe *prudently* provides for her own accommodation.—Now tell me, is not the *Love of our Country*, which, according to Lord Shafteſbury, is the higheſt perfection of Virtue, the greateſt earthly good?

C. Such Virtue is, in our happy days, altogether *lovely!* But I want to know your opinion,—if the P[illegible] is diſſ[illegible]; or if I obtain a place, by the change of the Miniſtry;—as to the diſpoſition of the majority of Voters, with reſpect to my

my re-election :—Nobody knows the humour and the views of the Electors better ; and though you do not ſerve us in *procuring* Votes, you always adviſe us faithfully.

S. As to a Diſſ——- of P————, I not only think it, at this time, and on this occaſion, the maddeſt requeſt that ever was made to the C——; but I am, beſides, very well ſatisfied, that all the *men of ſenſe* of your party, who have but the leaſt conception of *national intereſt*, think it ſo too.—'Tis a meaſure, I ſincerely believe, no miniſter would *dare* to adviſe ; if he deſired his advice ſhould take effect. Becauſe no Miniſter would *dare* to charge himſelf with the obvious conſequences naturally to be feared from ſuch a meaſure.—I will mention but two ; the vaſt and irreparable *injury* it might do to public credit, and the total loſs of importance in the national treaties and negociations with foreign courts ; becauſe neither court or creditor could place any confidence in the faith of a public of ſo little ſtability, that every blaſt of faction might drive it into an adverſe courſe. But your *leaders know*, that by *inſiſting* on *that* which *cannot* be complied with, the popular clamour againſt Adminiſtration will be furiouſly *increaſed* ; by which means they, the leaders, may make their own terms of intereſt for appeaſing the ſtorm of their own raiſing.

C. Why the corruption of ſuch a C——t cannot be encountered without uſing *popular artifice*. 'Tis *the way* the *preſent men* got *into* Power,—'tis the *way* by which they will be turned *out* of it,—and ſo on, from one Miniſterial generation to another.—When can it end ?

S. Exactly when the *people* recover *ſenſe enough to determine*, they will no longer be the *bubbles* of ſo *paltry a trick*.

C.

C. But if I come down on a change of Miniſtry, I hope and believe I ſhall be on a good bottom.—I have *exactly* followed the inſtructions of my Conſtituents, without the *leaſt deviation*;—I have *given myſelf up* to them without the *leaſt reſerve*; and I think this conduct muſt have *very great merit* with them.

S. Well, Sir! and how does this *very great merit* of yours affect *me?* or what is it you expect *I* ſhould ſay to it? If your Conſtituents gave you Inſtructions, and you ſtand in an high point of merit with them, by *giving yourſelf up* to thoſe inſtructions, undoubtedly your Conſtituents will re-elect you. But your Election can neither be any *duty* or any *buſineſs*, in which I am concerned; becauſe if *thoſe* were your *Conſtituents* who *inſtructed* you; *I*, who *never inſtructed* you, cannot, *by the terms*, be one of your *conſtituents*.

C. You miſapprehend me: I did not mean to ſay *all* my conſtituents inſtructed me; but a very *reſpectable part* only.—I own, I was mortified to find *your* name was not among the inſtructors.

S. Better you be mortified with *miſſing* my name to your *inſtructions*, than I be diſgraced, in my own opinion, by *putting* it *there*.—But it *now* appears, that you affirm the thing which *is not*, when you ſay you were inſtructed by your *conſtituents*; unleſs the *ſupporters of public Virtue* have determined for themſelves, and all the world, that there is no difference between the *whole* and a *part*. When you ſay you are *returned by your Conſtituents* to repreſent them in Parliament; when you ſay, that in conſequence of ſuch return, you are *impowered by your Conſtituents* to take upon yourſelf the charge of their Conſtitutional *intereſt*; what is it you mean by this *Returning*, and this *Impowering?*

ing? Not ſurely that thoſe only who *voted* for you are your Conſtituents.

Which of two Candidates ſhall be inveſted with the Repreſentative right of the *whole body* of Electors, is to be determined by the majority of Votes, and cannot fairly be determined any other way: but he of the two on whom the majority falls, is deſigned and underſtood by the Electors themſelves, and by the indiſputable right of Election, as inveſted with the Conſtitutional power of the *whole*.

Tom, Will, and Dick, who voted for you, and *are* of your party; cannot aſſume a power over your Repreſentative Character, or appropriate to their peculiar intereſt or humour the direction of your voting in Parliament, to the injury of Harry, James and Francis, who did *not* vote for you; and who, though *not* of your party, are as *truly* and as *deeply* intereſted in the independance of your vote, as the others.

You, upon whom the majority at the Election was fix'd, are, by the unqueſtionable nature of the Elective right, the repreſentative of the *whole*; and you are accountable to every man *alike* for the faithful *free* diſcharge of your Parliamentary duty. No elector, nor yet *any number* of your electors, can have a *Right* to inſtruct you, whatever ſucceſsful pretences they may ſet up to the *Power*, ſo as to *controul* or *overbear* the freedom of your parliamentary vote; becauſe every *ſingle ſeparate* man, rich or poor, has an *equal* right to ſay to his repreſentative,—"How have you employed the truſt *I* confided to you? Have you, according to the integrity of *your* conſcience, and the ability of *your own* deliberate judgment, *freely* and faithfully diſcharged the duties of that truſt, or have you not?"

The

The party equivocation on this head, is very obvious; and very eaſily expoſed. For example: Suppoſe a Letter came to you ſigned by 20 or 30 of your principal electors, requeſting you to *procure* a place for a certain man, or to ſtop or ſuſpend an Exchequer proſecution againſt another; or, if you don't like theſe examples (becauſe they are not, perhaps, very *conſtitutionally*, though they are very *generally* the occupations of Members; I do not ſay ſo much at the *requeſt* as by the *orders* of their Electors) we will ſuppoſe you are inſtructed in this Letter, to give your vote in favour of a neighbouring Gentleman, whoſe conteſted Election is depending before the Houſe. Though there is a *partial* and *reſtricted* ſenſe, in which it would be true, that thoſe *who wrote* this Letter, and made this *modeſt* requiſition, were your *Electors*, yet I hope, it could never, in a juſt and proper ſenſe, be averred that it came from your *Conſtituents*.

You repreſent about 1000 Electors. If 990 ſhould concur in *aſſuming* a *power* to *controul* your Parliamentary freedom, you ought to reject the unconſtitutional *impoſition* with an honeſt and ſpirited *diſdain*; becauſe you cannot ſubmit to it, without *wholly* deſtroying the *Conſtitutional Right* which the remaining *Ten* have in the freedom of your Parliamentary Vote. Every one of theſe Ten would have an undoubted right to demand,—"What have you done with the truſt *I* confided to you? If you have deſtroyed the right of *Ten*, you may as well deſtroy the rights of *Twenty*, and ſo on, 'till the free, conſtitutional *Repreſentative* right of a very great part of your Electors exiſts but in name: for there is no *compact*, either *expreſſed* or *implied*, in virtue of which any *majority* of Electors can pretend to deprive

deprive the *remaining number*, however *ſmall*, of their Conſtitutional Right in the freedom and independence of their *common*, and *equal* Repreſentative. The *non-inſtructing* part whom you have thus cavalierly *annihilated* in your eſtimation, will not find themſelves much regarded, or their condition much amended, by your diſtinction of the *reſpectable part* who *did* inſtruct you, and the *unreſpectable part* who *did not*. As I have the *honour* to be one of the *Unreſpectables*, will you be ſo good to inform us, what you did with *our* right of repreſentation in *thoſe votes* where you gave yourſelf up *without reſerve* to the inſtructions of the *Reſpectables?* Will you ſay—have you, Sir, the confidence to ſay, to my face, that *we* were in *any reſpect whatever repreſented* in thoſe votes? And if we were *not* repreſented;—if by your *wilful denial* of our undoubted conſtitutional right in the *freedom* of *your Votes*, you ſubjected that freedom to the arbitrary impoſition of the Reſpectables; have you not, beſides betraying *our* intereſt in your independence, deſtroyed, as far as in you lies, the *repreſentative* right itſelf, by transferring to others, in whom we have *no confidence*, the diſcharge of that important *truſt* we confided to *you?* 'Tis in *your* judgment we confided;—'tis *your* conſcience ſtands engaged to *us:* with the judgments or the conſciences of the Reſpectables, we have nothing to do; nor is it worth our inquiry, whether they *have*, or *have not*, the leaſt degree of either.—*You* are our *Repreſentative*, not the *Repectables*.

But, Sir, you have not barely failed in your immediate duty to your Electors; you have done *much worſe* than this. As a member of that illuſtrious Body which collectively repreſents all the Commons of Great Britain, you have *betrayed*, in

in favour of the *corrupt* practices of *Faction*, that Repreſentative Right of Independence, by which *alone* you are authorized or capacitated to give your vote, in deciding on the moſt momentous ſubjects of national intereſt.

A Bill, or a Reſolution, is under Debate, by which a point of great national importance may be determined.—How do you act? Do you *deliberately* attend to the arguments on both ſides, and *conſcientiouſly* decide, in giving your Vote, in favour of that meaſure which appears juſtly to demand it?—Oh! by no means:—your right of judgment is *precluded*; *you* muſt look, not into your *conſcience*, but into your *pocket*, for *your* determination.—A Repreſentative no longer, you are now no more than the Pipe, through which your factious Inſtructors *whiſtle their Voice* of Intereſt or Reſentment. Would not a common Carrier be as much a Repreſentative? And if it ſhould ever happen, that a Reſolution of the H— of C— ſhould be determined by a majority of ſuch *Whiſtles*, it *would not*—it *could not*, be a reſolution of a H— of *Repreſentatives*, but the determination of a Majority of *ſeparate Cabals*, in different parts of the Kingdom; each conveyed to the H—— through its *proper Pipe*.

You are, Sir, *no longer* a Repreſentative of the —— of ——; you *are not*—*you cannot* be *any longer* a genuine Member of the B—— P ——, than you preſerve the *freedom* of your judgment, and the *independence* of your Vote.—If you give up *theſe* to the Cabals of a Party in your —, you are no more than the inſignificant *Carrier* of other men's *Deciſions*;—the ſervile Tool of a Faction; and the conſtitution of your country, to the preſervation of which the freedom of voting in the H— of C—— is eſſential, is by you *betrayed*,

and,

and, as far as your conduct can affect it, totally *ſubverted*.

C. But will you ſay, that *all* my Conſtituents united have not a right to inſtruct?

S. Whether *they* have, or have not, is no part of the preſent queſtion, which is no more than this, "Whether a *part* of the Electors can juſtly aſſume a power, by inſtructing, to bring reſtrictions on the right which *all* the Electors have in the freedom of voting, *conſtitutionally* veſted in their Repreſentative? But thus much I will ſay in general, without fear of being confuted, that no County, or City, or Borough, can be repreſentated to any *conſtitutional purpoſe*, if the Electors *deſtroy* or *abridge* that freedom of voting in Parliament, which is by the conſtitution made *eſſential* to the duty and character of a Repreſentative.

I will give you, Mr. C. my real opinion and advice in one word: Never give up your independence to *Court Favour*, or to *Country cabals*. When you are to vote, aſk your Conſcience how you *ought* to vote. Take HUMANITY and JUSTICE for your conſtant INSTRUCTORS; and my life for it, you are the *beſt tutor'd* Member in the Houſe. Thus acting, ſome of your Electors may think in particular votes you have *erred*, but *not one* of them can ever have reaſon to ſay their rights were by you *betrayed*.——Pray, Mr. C. what number of your electors ſigned your inſtructions? Can I ſee the liſt? I know pretty well, by living part of the year among them, the characters and the abilities of moſt of the *leading voters*, and I know too very many of thoſe who are *led*.

C. I believe I have the inſtructions in my pocket.—There is the paper.—I had a mind you

ſhould ſee it.—You will find full 300 Inſtructors have ſigned it.

S. The —— you repreſent has about a thouſand voters, and you have ſacrificed the duty you owe to them *all*, of preſerving your own independence, to the inſolent *requiſition* of one-third part.—I will now look over the names of the inſtructors.—Mr. F ---, Mr. D----, Mr. M----. and Mr. P----: They, I have no doubt, as men of leiſure, capacity, and general knowledge, very well underſtand the ſubject of their inſtructions; and their *opinion* and *advice* ought to have had great weight in aſſiſting you to form your *own judgment*;—their *Inſtructions*, or *Commands*, no weight at all in directing your *Vote*.—— *Tom Thimble*---Aye--Tom is a member of a club that takes in Rider's Hiſtory, and ſo may have read about Conſtitution, and got the word by heart.——*Will Cinder* the Blackſmith, he too is of the ſame club.—*Will* was once a red-hot Politician, and roar'd out Conſtitution with every blaſt of the bellows; he is now grown much cooler, is of a more temperate complexion, and in a little time may be fit for reaſonable handling.——But who the duce is this?---If inſtruction in the art of writing was the point, this gentleman would be very ill qualified to inſtruct, for I cannot read his name.---Let me ſee---I will get nearer the window---Oh, as I live, *Dick Dunghill*, the under Oſtler at the White Lion!

C. Well, Sir!----and for all your ſneers, Dick has as much right to inſtruct as his betters.

S. And ſuppoſe I ſhould admit he has as much *right* as thoſe who have no right at all?

C. Why then do you ſtop at poor Dick the inſtructor? I affirm again, as a *Voter*, Dick has an undoubted right to *inſtruct*.---

S. And

S. And I affirm he has alſo an undoubted right to Fly---and to tranſlate Greek---and to preſcribe Phyſic.

C. God bleſs me! why it is impoſſible the man ſhould do either.

S. Juſt as poſſible to do all *three*, as to inſtruct you in the Conſtitution and power of the H. of C.; for theſe, I find, are the ſubjects of Dick's inſtructions to you.

C. No: but he may be advis'd by thoſe who *do know*, and ſo ſign by their advice.

S. And how is Dick to judge between thoſe who *do* know, and thoſe who only *pretend* to know? But if he has the good luck to be advis'd by one who *does* know, and he ſigns the paper, it will be at laſt not *Dick's* inſtruction, but his *adviſer's*. And if this worſhipful adviſer procures ten thouſand Dicks to ſign, it will amount to no more than the *adviſer's own* inſtructions ten thouſand times repeated. No other inſtructions will be given you, and there will ſtill be but *one Inſtructor*.

And now, Mr. C---, I take upon me to ſay, that of your three hundred inſtructors, two hundred and eighty give you no more inſtruction, from any kind of conception they have of the Conſtitutional right of the H. of C. than Dick Dunghill, the under Oſtler.—See now, Sir, to how contemptible a Cabal, *Twenty men, no more* (to ſay the moſt), you have *betray'd* the Conſtitutional right of One Thouſand Electors, and the ſtill vaſtly more important right of your independence, as a member of that Collective body which repreſents all the Commons of Great Britain.

'Tis a moſt egregious ſophiſm, *this right of inſtructing*. The previous queſtion relates to *power*

or *ability*; for, till that is determin'd, no queſtion reſpecting *right* can be agitated. Let Dick Dunghill acquire the power to *fly*—or the ability to *tranſlate Greek*---then, and not till then, the right to *fly*, or to *tranſlate*, may be a proper queſtion, if any one chooſes to diſpute it. Let Dick acquire the *ability* to inſtruct members in the Conſtitution of the H. of C. and *with* the ability, Dick will alſo acquire *as much right* to inſtruct as others have, or pretend to have; but till he has the *ability*, no queſtion of right can poſſibly be propoſed.

I cannot, Sir, quit Dick Dunghill, without obſerving, that though it is a moſt impudent *abuſe of words*, to talk of the inſtruction of ſuch men on ſuch occaſions, as that we have been conſidering; yet there are many ſubjects which come under Parliamentary conſideration, very nearly affecting the property, intereſt, and freedom of the lower ſort of people, which *never* ought to have the effect of Laws, without a *thorough* and *certain* knowledge from the *information* of the poor *people themſelves*, in what manner, and to what degree, they may ſuffer or be benefited by ſuch laws. *Conſcience*, retained by *Humanity*, ſhould be ſtanding counſel for the rights of the poor at the bar of the H. of C. If *that* is not heard in their behalf, they can fee *no other*.---If I had the honour of being a member, I ſhould eſtabliſh it as a rule for my conduct, from which *no conſideration* ſhould prevail with me to depart, *never* to admit the report of the Rich,---of Landholders,---of Parſons,—Merchants,--Manufacturers,---Maſters of Trades, Corporation-men, &c. &c. as to any propoſed regulation in which their *intereſt* or *power* might come in *competition* with the *Rights* of the *Poor*, without

without hearing from the *free*, *perſonal*, *unreſtrained* information of the poor parties *themſelves*, how it might affect them.—This rule is particularly applicable, and not to be diſpenſed with, if juſtice, not *inſolent power*, is to be eſtabliſhed by Law; in the Poor-Laws,—the diſgrace both of the *humanity* and the *policy* of Great Britain,—in the Game-Laws,---thoſe for incloſing Commons,—Rates of Labour, or Wages,---Militia, &c. &c.---To protect from OPPRESSION is the firſt duty of a Britiſh Parliament.

C. By this digreſſion of yours, and by the moral maxim at the end of it, I am given to underſtand, you are neither *Sportſman*, *Deputy Lieutenant*, or *Juſtice of the Peace*.—My dear S——, for heaven's ſake keep where you are,—ſtick cloſe to your moſt Philoſophic Nothingneſs,—but never come to act in public life.—You would make a curſed *queer* Member of Parliament,—and would never be *noticed* in the Houſe, to any other purpoſe but to be *laughed* at by *all* parties.

S. I am altogether of the *ſame* opinion. So let us leave digreſſing, and proceed forward with your electioneering.

C. Well then, to confeſs the whole truth, and to cut ſhort all your wiſe arguments about ability, and right, and freedom, I ſent down the inſtructions myſelf to Mr. G. my agent;—he was to get them *privately* copied, and put into the hands of *one*, whom you alſo know very well, who was to *return* the inſtructions to me with as many ſignatures as he could obtain.

S. Oh ho! did you ſo! That was clever indeed; and ſo you yourſelf *taught* theſe Jackdaws

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the *notes* they were to whiſtle back again to you. I can now comprehend the whole ſeries.

Scorning, as too mean for a gentleman, to receive the *inſtructions* of Œconomy, and the diſcipline of Virtue, by which you, a ſingle man, might have lived in plenty, politeneſs, generoſity, and independence, on a clear eſtate of three thouſand five hundred pounds a year; you gave yourſelf up inſenſibly to the deluſions of Vice, and the *inſtructions* of Folly, and ſhe ordered Faſhion to ſend you off for Newmarket; where, caught in the trap of thoſe who were better *inſtructed* in the arts of the place, you were ſtripped of your money; and ſo the rich free Fool that *went down*, returned a bubbled dependant Beggar. For you no ſooner were come back, than you were *inſtructed* by your ſteward, that, exhauſted of your caſh by the adventures of Newmarket, much *more* was demanded than the returns of your eſtate would ſupply. Your Baſeneſs—don't, Sir, ſhrink at the word—'tis not what *I ſay*, but what *you do*, diſhonours you—Your baſeneſs, your *mean beggarly* baſeneſs, Your *Newmarket* maxims—next *inſtructed* you, to caſt the maintenance of your Whores,—your Race-horſes,—and your Jockeyſhip, on a *ruined Public*—ON A PUBLIC, RUINED BY NEWMARKET MAXIMS AND MANNERS. How to effect this villainous purpoſe—ſtart not, Sir—the *Purpoſe*—*Your* Purpoſe can be expreſs'd by no ſofter word—was eaſy for a M. of P. to apprehend:—Obſervation, even ſuch obſervation as *you* were capable of making, *ſunk* as you were in your *Underſtanding*, from a Gentleman to a Groom, could not fail to *inſtruct you* how this was to be done; Power, Commiſſions, Places, Penſions,

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it was *glaringly obvious*, were not to be immediately obtain'd by fawning at Court, or by cringing the ſupple figure in the Levees of Miniſters. —No; a more certain,—a more ſpirited,—but, at the ſame time, a more *raſcally* way even than Court proſtitution, you found eſtabliſh'd by Cuſtom; and that is, to acquire the venal prize you ſeek by *Popular Impoſture*. Confederate, ſays Baſeneſs, with the leaders of the popular Faction; ſet as many ſimpletons as you can procure in your ——, to increaſe the noiſe of Grievances by Inſtructions or Pet—ns; play artfully, and with addreſs, the counterfeit part of Friendſhip to the *Liberties* of your Country; and if the Faction you are combin'd with are *good actors* too, and faithful to the Intereſt of the party, you will *all* ſoon find yourſelves in full poſſeſſion of its *Wealth*. Thus the People you mean to *plunder*, are themſelves made ſubſervient to the *purpoſes of* plunder; that *trick*, to which they have been *parties*, they cannot complain of; and you become moſt *conſtitutionally* inveſted with the great Patriotic Privilege of laughing at their *folly*, while in Riot and Debauchery you are ſquandering their *treaſure*. And *is* it, Mr. C. a Gentleman—an Engliſh Gentleman—a Member of the B—— P——— *trafficking* with his Conſtituents—who, without bluſhing—*charges—loads—ſinks* his Character with ſo vile a deceit; ſo infamous, ſo pitiful a manœuvre in Political Chicanery?

C. You run on at a ſtrange rate. There are in our Party, many men of great honour and property, who would ſcorn to propoſe any pe uniary, or, as you moſt civilly term it, any *pilfering* advantages to themſelves in the Patriotic part they are acting.

S. Are

S. Are there *many* of these *unpilfering* Patriots among you? It would be *cruel* to preſs you too hard.—But in all popular factions, ſome weak honeſt men *muſt* be taken in. They are indiſpenſably neceſſary; they are the ſtalking-horſes, under whoſe ſhelter the knowing ones take their aim, in ſecurity to themſelves, and with good hopes of ſucceſs to the cauſe.—But, *C.* you know you muſt not attempt to impoſe your Patriots on me, in their preſent oppoſition, for any thing but what they are;—Patriots, who want the power and the places of thoſe men they oppoſe, and who reſolve all the public Grievances into theſe two—That *they* are *out*, and, That the *others* are *in*. We are now by ourſelves, and may ſpeak of things *as they are*. When indeed you get to your *Port Clubs*, and your *Punch*, and ſtill lower to your *Beer Clubs*, you may ſafely, and properly enough, talk in another ſtrain; give, with a grave face, Patriotic *Toaſts*, and they will *pledge* you;—tell them Patriotic Lies, and they will believe you;—but you know by experience this kind of Nonſenſe will not paſs with me; and, ſhould you endeavour to make it paſs, you would do no more than affront the common ſenſe I receiv'd from Heaven, and the knowledge of the Engliſh Political World I have acquir'd by obſervation; and at the ſame time expoſe the ſhallow arts of your Party to my contempt, and yourſelf, for endeavouring to varniſh them, to my ridicule.

C. I with to God I had *leſs* to do with you, or you had *more* to do with the world; with the preſent *enlighten'd*, *improv'd* World, I mean; for *that* World which you knew ſo well five years ago, exiſts no longer. In the firſt caſe, I ſhould *not* account to you for my conduct; and in the laſt, my conduct would need no *apology*; becauſe you

you would find that I do no more than all men who would *figure* on the great ſtage of Public employment have done before me, and are now doing along with me; and very many of them, in *all* parties, to a much greater effect of *baſeneſs*, as your ruſticity is pleas'd to term it, than any of my arts can have the *honour* to emulate.

S. So then, if, as you ſay, I had more to do in the World,—the *improv'd* World,—I ſhould ſee ſo many more on the reſpectable *great Stage* you mention, much greater, and more adroit plunderers than yourſelf,—and the whole buſtle of actors full as great,—that *your* baſeneſs would paſs unnotic'd, or at leaſt unreprov'd in the Crowd. What a lovely Spectacle muſt the aforeſaid *Great Stage exhibit*, if *you* are one of its moſt *decent*, *moderate* Gamblers.

C. You are confoundedly provoking.—But if the preſent Oppoſition ſhould, according to the *Oppoſition cuſtom*, make free with a few moral and civil Obligations to compaſs its end, I hope you will own that the *end propoſed*, which is no leſs than reſtoring to the people their loſt right of electing their own Repreſentatives, will expiate a little *Patriotic iniquity* in the means.

S. I will tell you what, C—, If you will look me full and ſteadily in the face without *laughing*, for one minute by your watch, and at the ſame time aver, (but you are not to *laugh*) that the *leaders* of your party, the *knowing-ones* in the *direction*, propoſe *any* other end by the oppoſition, but to *turn out* the preſent Miniſtry, and to *put themſelves* into their places, I will ſubſcribe to *any* belief you may chuſe to impoſe upon me.

A 4 *C.* Pho,

C. Pho—Rot your face—People of breeding never ſtare any man full in the face. — But you muſt own, that whatever elſe *we do*, or leave *undone*—we ſhall at leaſt, if the Par—t is diſ—d, by the neceſſary conſequence of the D——n, reſtore the violated Right of Election in M——x, and that *alone* is a *prodigious* work.——So *immenſely* important, it even *fatigues* me with the conception of its *weight*.

S. Well, God bleſs the Patriots under their burdens, and ſend them a good delivery of their Conceptions! At preſent, however, they ſeem to have upon them very ſtrong ſymptoms of Abortion.——But, as you obſerve, a change in the repreſentation of M—— will undoubtedly reſult from a D—n of P——t.

There is no man more fully convinced than I am of the contemptible inſignificance of Mr. W. and the extreme impudence and futility of his general complaint of Grievances. But in the affair of the M———x Election, it is not the complaint *alone* of Mr. W. a ſingle ſubject, it is the *conſtitutional voice* of a *large body* of Freeholders, which demands to be heard.——If ever queſtion included in its determination the eſtabliſhment or the debaſement of the Conſtitution of P———, it is this of the M——— Election.

C. I am very glad to find we are like to agree on this important ſubject. The ſafety or deſtruction of all that is valuable to us as men, and as Britons, depends on the final determination of the M—— Election.

S. Undoubtedly we have no other ſecurity for the peaceable enjoyment of every good we derive from Society, but the preſervation of our excellent

lent conſtitution, in its Revolution, purity, and vigour. A breach *once* made in its *integrity*, by the *deliberate reſolution* of the H. H. C. there is no exceſs of injuſtice, oppreſſion, diſgrace, or miſery, which might not enter and overwhelm our Liberties, our Laws, our Property, and our Religion; and in theſe, all in ſociety that deſerve the name of Good.

C. It is no wonder therefore that a determination, in which every man is ſo deeply intereſted, ſhould be attended to by *all* with ſo unexampled an anxiety.

S. True; and therefore no Repreſentatives ever deſerved higher applauſe from their country than *thoſe* who preſerved the *integrity* of the *Conſtitution*, by *confirming* Mr. W—'s *excluſion*, and Col L—'s *election*.

C. What! does all this profeſſed veneration for the Conſtitution of your Country, at laſt end in a panegyric on its Aſſaſſins?

S. My veneration for the Conſtitution of my Country is as *ſincere* and as *unaffected* as yours, or any man's. But as you and I have formed very *different* conceptions in what the *perfection* and *ſafety* of that Conſtitution *conſiſts*; we cannot *but* judge very differently alſo on the preſent queſtions, Wherein conſiſts its proper defence? and, Which party in the H. H. C. has acquired the important merit of being its true defenders?

C. And now, Sir, I in my turn call upon *you* to look *me* ſteadily in the face—and tell me—I don't ſay upon *your Honour*, becauſe I know you make a *joke* of honour; but to talk to you in your own way--as an *honeſt Man*, and upon your Soul, would *you*, as a M. of P. have *confirmed* W---'s *expulſion*, and L---'s *election*?

S. You know very well, Mr. C. that I am under *no obligations* to the preſent Miniſtry, nor *ever was*, as you alſo know, to any other:—You know *too* my eſteem for Miniſters *in place*, and for Patriots *out of it*, is exactly even. They may differ in their *parts* and *abilities*, and that *difference* may, indeed, give a pre-eminence; but in the *ſelfiſh meanly intereſted* motives of their conduct, I firmly believe, the parity is very exact.—I will *ceaſe* to think thus hardly of them, when they recover the grace to live in the practice of Moral *Virtue*, with *dignity* and *oeconomy*, upon their *own proper Revenues*; without *extorting*, as M——s DO, and as Patriots WOULD DO, from the *hard-earned*, *ſcanty* wages, of the *ſober induſtrious* STARVING common-people, the infamous *means* of ſupporting the extravagance of their Vices.—'Tis this I call *Pilfering*; becauſe it is *artfully withdrawing*, by a Place or a Penſion, to their *own* uſe, that Money which is *raiſed* on the Public; and in the raiſing is *appropriated*, under the ſtrongeſt *civil* obligations, to the *ſole uſe* of the Public.

And now, Sir, as a *direct* anſwer to your demand, I am to tell you, That as *I* am *not* a man of the firſt breeding, I *dare* look any man full in the face, as I now *look at you*, while I aſſure you, upon my *integrity*—upon my *ſoul*, if you like that *ſecurity* better—that as a Member of the H——H—— of C——, I ſhould *for ever* have been *reproached* by my own Conſcience with *betraying* the *Eſſential Rights* of the *Conſtitution of P*——, and with *deſerting* at its *utmoſt extremity*, the moſt important *intereſt* of my *Conſtituents*, if I had *Not* ſo voted. I do again, Sir, aſſure you, that to *confirm* Mr. W——'s

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final exclusion, is the way in which I should have voted, from a *full conviction* that my duty to my Country, and its excellent Constitution, *constrained me* so to vote. And so I *must* have voted, if W—— had been my *brother*, and *L*——— my *enemy*, without severely censuring those who took the contrary side in this important decision; because there is, at first sight, much *plausibility* of *argument* in their favour.—All I have now said, I know, determines no more than this, That such as I have represented *would* have been my conduct, and *is still* my opinion: Whether that opinion stands on safe or unstable ground, I am willing to submit to your examination.

C. Intolerable! What? Have not the Freeholders, and all the other Voters, a *clear*, *indisputable*, *indissoluble* Right to choose their *own* Representatives?—If you *deny* such a Right, don't you *destroy* their Freedom? If you *curtail*, or bring *limitations*, upon that right, don't you *abridge* and *weaken* their Freedom?

S Don't fly off into general declamation. If you would know the Reasons of my supposed conduct in this P——ry decision, you must *attend* with temper to my arguments.—If you think such attention not worth your while or your trouble, I have done; and we will talk of something else.—I must, however, assure you, that the *true Constitutional Freedom* of the *Electors* of *Representatives*, is the *last right in the World* I should think of *impairing*.—I *never* procured for *you*, or any *other* Candidate, ONE Vote, by BRIBE, or INFLUENCE, in my Life.

C. Well: The truth of that assertion I have known to my cost. Upon the assurance which preceded it, I am all temper and attention. But how

how the Devil you will reconcile this your *extreme tenderneſs* of the Conſtitution with the part you have *aſſumed* in the deciſion of the M—— Election, I neither *do*, nor *can* apprehend.

S. Why, 'tis purely that you may apprehend the motives of *that Conduct* which now ſeems to you ſo *inconſiſtent*, that I am going to argue with you.—But remember your promiſe, keep your temper, and ———

We had, Mr. URBAN, proceeded thus far, and were going on in our Political debate, when we received a peremptory ſummons to attend the Ladies at Quadrille.—Such a ſummons as this, from a very lovely ſingle Lady, in the unſullied luſtre of beauty, innocence, and youth, was *never* yet diſputed by any man of *embroidery*, more than a ſcore years under the age of Spectacles: So my Beau Politician led the way, and I followed. More Company came in; and we gave up the reſt of the Evening to gaiety and cards. As Mr. C.'s viſit was not to end but with the following day, we determined to renew our political converſation after breakfaſt the next morning.

What paſſed in that converſation, and how it ended, may perhaps be communicated to the Public in a *Second Letter*, if it diſcovers, by its reception of *this*, any deſire of receiving *another* from the ſame hand.

However that may happen, it is time now to put an end to this *motley* Epiſtle.—If I ſhould ſay, I have paſſed in it

" From Gay to Grave, from Lively to Severe,"

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it is, I assure you, with a very moderate conception of its powers, in either instance.

The use I have made of your Name, Mr. URBAN, in this Letter you will excuse, upon the assurance I give you, that the Writer of it is to you, and to every *other*, *honest*, *humane*, *sober*, *industrious* man living, A sincere Friend and Well-Wisher.

MATIUS.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 13, line 18, *for* Orthodoxic, *read* Orthodoxico.
P. 38, l. 22, *for* Inns at Court, *r.* Inns of Court.
P. 90, l. 24, *for* the far fetched, *r.* by the far fetched implication.
P. 99, l. the laſt, *for* in which the indictment affirms he languiſhed, *r.* under which Mr. Clark then languiſhed. (The *languiſhing*, in the indictment, is meerly a word of *form*; and has no relation whatever to the *Fever*. This error in the tranſcriber eſcap'd notice, when the Letter went to the preſs.)
P. 109, l. 4 from the bottom, *for* if I did mark, *r.* if I did not mark.
P. 113, l. 4 from the bottom, *for* their opinions, *r.* theſe opinions,
P. 140, l. 26, *for* ſhall find it, *r.* ſhould find it.
P. 141, l. 1, *for* reſt—depend, *r.* reſts—depends.
P. 142, l. 3 from the bottom, *for* induces an Avarice, *r.* induce an Avarice.
P. 143. l. 15, *for* even ſeen, *r.* even felt.
P. 150, l. 9 from the bottom, *for* evil examples, *r.* evil example.
P. 152, l. 5, *for* Contry, *r.* Country.